WOMEN AND THE ECONOMY IN NEWFOUNDLAND: A CASE STUDY OF CATALINA

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INTRODUCTION

This study was funded by the Women's Policy Office, Department of Career Development and Advanced Studies, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. It is a case study which examines the position of women in the economy in one Newfoundland community - the town of Catalina, Trinity Bay. It is very much a pilot project.

Total funding for this study was for six weeks from February 15th to March 15th, 1987. One full time Junior Research Fellow was employed for that period and additional time was supplied by the consultant on the project. Such limitations of time and labour naturally restricted the scope of the study. Nevertheless, the project has enabled us to complete two important tasks: develop, test and revise our research instruments; and present an initial description of a number of facets of women's economic lives in this single community.

In conjunction with previous studies, and especially with another pilot project, Women and the Economy in Newfoundland: a Pilot Project (carried out September-December 1986), we feel justified in drawing some implications from the data we have collected. This leads us to make some tentative recommendations which we hope will generate further discussions. It has also led us to develop hypotheses which we hope to explore in further study. One of the tasks carried out during the project was the preparation of an application for a major grant under the Strategic Grants Programme of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council.

Our reasons for selecting Catalina as a case study and for the methodology we decided to employ were presented in our Proposal. Details of the research organization as well as work completed and in progress were given in the Interim Report submitted March 13, 1987. We do not intend to repeat those details, although much of the substance of the Interim Report is incorporated in this Final Report.

Briefly, the study was divided into three main phases: preparation, fieldwork and analysis, and writing. The fieldwork consisted of data collection in four main components.

Firstly, we carried out a study of the labour market using statistical data and interviews with employers and significant informants in the community. We were fortunate in receiving cooperation from the two principal employers in Catalina - Mifflins and Fishery Products International (FPI). We held extensive interviews with Mr. Bursey and Mr. Bartlett of Mifflins, who arranged for the completion of a questionnaire on their workforce. This provided us with details of Mifflins' employees with their positions, length of service and benefits together with various personal details such as age, marital status, number and ages of children and day care arrangements. Unfortunately, Mifflins did not feel able to provide us with details of their employees' wages. They are the only employer in Catalina for whom we do not have this information.

Mr. Bill Wells of FPI ensured that we could access their figures on their female employees and arranged for an interview with the Catalina plant manager, Mr. Bragg. Mr. Bragg gave us considerable assistance and access to detailed information on the female labour force employed at the plant. While some details (such as the cross tabulation of marital status, number of children and continuity of service) were too difficult to abstract quickly from the personnel records, information gained from FPI will constitute an important section of the study. Access to the seniority list at FPI enabled us to identify 59 women from Catalina who are regularly employed at the plant, and other sources enabled us to fill in most of the domestic information on these women.

Interviews were also conducted with 17 other employers of women in Catalina, from whom we gained the same range of information. We also interviewed 23 significant informants, including community leaders, local professionals, amateur historians and church and labour leaders.

Secondly, we conducted a labour force survey with a 5% sample of women aged 19 years or over, using a questionnaire designed primarily to collect details of current employment and work histories. This questionnaire was the research instrument that we found most problematic, and we revised it drastically in the course of the study. The final version of the questionnaire is appended. We could not carry out statistical procedures on such a small sample in any case, and the evaluation and refinement of the instruments was a major task of the project. Despite the substantial revision of the questionnaire, we collected 16 full work histories from a representative sample of women, which has enabled us to come to some understanding of the work patterns and common problems of women working in Catalina.

Thirdly, we carried out a study of household strategies, using a modified version of Pahl's extensive questionnaire which he used in the **Isle of Sheppey Study**. This research instrument proved much more successful, and while the small number of households studied does not enable us to draw statistical conclusions, this data (taken in conjunction with other components in the study) does allow us to present some information on this aspect of women's economic lives.

The final component of the fieldwork was the ethnographic observation. Sandy Pottle was resident in Catalina, boarding with a widow and her daughter, for virtually the entire period. Marilyn Porter stayed with the same family on her visits to Catalina. We were able to make extensive contacts in the community and to gather much information on an informal basis. This kind of in depth familiarity with a community is important in correctly interpreting the data, because it is then based on a real understanding of the people concerned.

Given the limitations of time and resources, we have been able to make a substantial start on a full study of Catalina. In turn, the material collected in the course of the study contributes further elements to our growing knowledge about women's economic lives in Newfoundland.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

We have already pointed out that this study relates closely to a previous pilot study carried out by us in the Fall of 1986 and to a proposal to carry out a much more extensive study under the auspices of the SSHRC "Women and Work Strategic Grants Programme". This relationship reflects the continuing development of a theoretical perspective on the whole issue of the nature and significance of women's economic lives. Dr. Porter's previous work on aspects of women's lives in Newfoundland and her more general theoretical writing (1) have also been related to extending the important theoretical debate that has been developing among Canadian, American and European scholars over the past few years.

In general terms, this debate arose from a concern that traditional economic explanations and more radical, especially Marxist, explanations all failed to account for women's economic experience. The stress upon the individual (male) wage earner, for instance, both failed to recognize the importance of women's unpaid domestic labour and misinterpreted the conditions under which women entered the paid work force. Initial work in this area then, was focussed on extensive critiques of theories that were perceived to be inadequate on the subject of women. It was increasingly recognized that such lacunae also had profound consequences for the validity of the theories themselves. The next task, clearly, was the construction of theories that would be both conceptually sound and would adequately account for the particular situation of women. To this end, the major research granting agencies on both sides of the Atlantic facilitated discussions that would ensure a sounder theoretical context for future work.

One strand of thought was developed in the course of a series of workshops that preceded the establishment of the SSHRC Strategic Grants Program for the theme "Women and Work". Of these, the workshop entitled "Women and the Canadian Labour Force in Vancouver", organized by N. Hersom and D. Smith (2), and the one on "Women and Work Organization" in Ottawa, organized by M. Kinnear and G. Mason (3)

produced particularly useful reports. Both workshops raised concerns about the way conventional research had misrepresented women and the problem of gender and made recommendations as to how this could be avoided in research covered by the SSHRC program. Among these concerns was the problem of categories and definitions that had been developed with a male focus, and which proved both inaccurate and inappropriate for women's experience. For example, despite dropping the term "head of household", Statistics Canada still assumes that one person is primarily responsible for the economic support of the household, and defines that person as the one "responsible for paying rent, or mortgage, or taxes, or electricity" (1981 Census Dictionary, p.63).

Research has indicated that where a couple allocate their wages to different areas of expenditure, the woman's wage is identified with food, clothing and services. In low income households, these areas consume more of the total family budget than do shelter and energy, yet the wording of the census question will more often designate the man as the "family maintainer". This results in an inevitable undervaluing or omission of women's economic contribution. It was this concern that led SSHRC to change the title of the theme from "Women in the Canadian Labour Force" to "Women and Work" (Hersom and Smith 1982:3-4).

Possibly more significant was the repeated rejection of the division between "paid" and "unpaid" or "productive" and "unproductive" work as meaningful categories for the analysis of women's economic contribution, and the related concern to evaluate women's "hidden" contribution to the economy in their labour in the family. This is a point made strongly by L. Kealey in her background research paper for the **Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment in Newfoundland** (1985:2, 15-17). She cites the recent Canadian studies of Cowan 1983, Armstrong and Armstrong , 1984, Luxton 1983 and Fox 1980(4), which emphasize both the variety and importance of "unpaid" work (including housework, child care, voluntary work, etc.) and the difficulties in theorizing such labour and relating it to paid workforce participation.

The SSHRC Strategic Grants program had gone so far as to state in its rationale:

> "The conceptualization of this theme recognises women's non-market as well as labour market work. Research under this theme should go beyond the relationship of women to the labour force to include their contribution to the household. In this way the factors shaping women's work patterns will be developed." (Guidelines, p.1)

The importance of unpaid household labour has long been recognized in research on rural Newfoundland, although situated within rather different theoretical frameworks(5). Among the workshops sponsored by SSHRC in the preparatory period was one held in St. John's in July 1982, which generated considerable interest and documented the need for such research in Newfoundland (6). It should be noted that, to date, there have been no projects on Newfoundland carried out under the auspices of this program. We hope that this study, which contributed to a proposal under this programme, will be a factor in correcting that situation.

While the SSHRC program specifically addressed the growing evidence provided by Canadian feminists for the need for such research, in Britain a related process resulted in the Economic and Social Research Council's "Research Initiative on New Approaches to Economic Life". The workshops organized while the theme was being developed (SSRC Linked Workshops on Local Labour Markets and the Informal Economy) again provide considerable guidance on the relationship of theoretical concerns to specific research projects(7).

One of the initiators of the SSRC workshops was R.Pahl, whose seminal work on the Isle of Sheppey(8) informed much of the subsequent discussions. Drawing partly on earlier critiques of the concept of the "informal economy"(9) and partly on growing feminist debate, Pahl developed a "redefinition of work". This stresses that even employment, "the form of work that appears easiest to understand" comes in such varied guises that it cannot be understood without much more (and much more sensitive) evaluation of the "social relations of employment" (Pahl 1984:121-3).

When Pahl turns to the "social relations of work outside employment", the picture becomes predictably more complex, leading to a typology of work in which, for example, "a woman ironing a garment in a domestic dwelling" can be categorized in seven different ways according to the pattern of social relations in which the act is embedded. The development of this idea led him to an analysis of the Isle of Sheppey that emphasized "household work strategies" and what he later called the working class gift of "getting by" (Pahl 1984:132-6).

There are clear gender implications in this approach. To quote Pahl (Pahl 1984:139):

> "I have also recognised that the chief worker in most households is a woman. The systematic neglect of women's work is inexcusable, given the overwhelming historical evidence. This neglect may be explained partially by the emphasis on the individual wage earner, rather than the household, as the basic economic unit." [my emphasis](10).

I have referred to the feminist debates that gave rise to the two formal initiatives mentioned above. Here, I can only signal two that I consider most relevant at this point(11). One is the discussion of the place of the family in determining women's economic roles. It was a debate initiated by historians and anthropologists, but one that has subsequently engaged economists, sociologists and political scientists (12). Its main concern is to document women's economic contribution as a family member, i.e. as wife, mother and daughter, and then to theorize about both that work itself and its consequences for women's labour force participation.

Pahl and the New Approaches Initiative represent an extension in the suggestion that "hidden work" done by both men and women structures the labour force participation of both men and women, and indeed, that labour markets cannot be understood without prioritizing household labour.

Another debate arose out of the discussions about the relationship of class and gender (do women have a class position, and if so, what is it and how is it determined) and the validity and usefulness of the concept of "patriarchy". The particular strand I want to indicate here is

V. Beechey's work on the analysis of women's labour force participation (Beechey 77,1979 and 1983). She developed certain aspects of marxist theory to .ry to account for why women are systematically paid at below their value, and as a consequence of this she turned to an analysis of part-time work as a paradigm case (Beechey, 1985).

The growth of part-time work and its identity with women has been noted by numerous commentators (Armstrong, 1984; White, 1983), but analysis has usually been limited to a discussion of what kind of work it is and how it contributes to women's poor position in the labour market. Beechey was the first to attempt a theoretical explanation of why it was women who did part-time work. Her study was based on Coventry and she compared employer strategies in three sectors (manufacturing, state services and private services). Out of the complex picture that emerged was clear evidence that employers in search of greater flexibility, lower wage costs and a more docile labour force use different strategies for male and female workers. The introduction of part-time work was only used for female workers or in jobs that can be redefined as female. What was also clear was that employer logic (based in capitalist rationality) was often at odds with what Eisenstein had described as "patriarchal logic".

In other words, Beechey pointed to instances when it would seem to make most economic sense to substitute female labour for male, or to pay women workers more to work extra shifts. Their reasons for not doing so (apart from trade union resistance) amounted to their strongly held ideas about what was "proper" hours for women to work. This suggests two "systems". In the contradictions between them lies the possibility for negotiation by the workers.

Out of these theoretical concerns two issues have emerged as particularly important. One is the issue of part-time work (including seasonal, casual and temporary work). In order to explore the theoretical questions raised by part-time work, we needed to assemble exact data on the distribution of full and part-time jobs in our community, and what distinguishes part-time jobs; if women are concentrated in such jobs, and

if so, why and what are the consequences for them; and if and how the labour market is being restructured around part-time work. We also needed to collect detailed work histories of women in order to understand how part-time work fits into women's long-term economic strategies.

The other issue is that of household strategies. The focus on the household as the key economic unit around which both women and men organize their economic activity is derived from Pahl's work. One of the components of our study involved a pilot replication of his study of the Isle of Sheppey in Kent. We devised a revised version of his questionnaire, reflecting some of the obviously different circumstances prevailing in Catalina, while attempting to preserve comparability with data collected by Pahl. We took his redefinition of work as central in our attempt to discover how households in Catalina structure all their economic activity, both paid and unpaid in order to "get by". The aim was to see if, by taking this approach we could make sense of a total household logic, and whether that helped to explain who got what jobs in the labour market, why and with what consequences for the household.

These, then, are the concerns that informed the construction of our study of Catalina. As we will see, the choice of Catalina itself presented certain problems in terms of how well it exemplified the issues we wanted to explore. On the other hand, an underlying conviction of our methodology is that it is only by focussing on the particularity of women's lives that any real understanding can be built. Catalina women have to construct their lives, both now and in the past, within the specificity of that community. We also recognize the shortcomings of some of our research instruments. Again the purpose of pilot work is precisely to evaluate such instruments and test out revisions. The main problem we faced, however, was simply one of time. The sheer complexity of the issues, and of women's responses to them, mean that the understanding we could reach in six weeks is, at best, partial.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Catalina lies in the northern section of Trinity Bay, on the Bonavista Peninsula. It has been an important fishing centre for almost 500 years and the presence of the large and productive FPI plant ensures its continuing place in the Newfoundland fishery.

There are indications that John Cabot discovered Catalina on his 1497 voyage, and was impressed by the natural harbour and abundance of fish in the vicinity. An unsubstantiated suggestion in Ernest Tilly's account mentions a settlement at Catalina as early as 1499(13), and other accounts talk of 100 settlers there in 1580. While records for this period are scanty, it is likely that English settlement became more prevalent, at least on a seasonal basis as the fishery developed in the next two centuries. In common with other settlements, the "planter" families struggled against a harsh environment, government discouragement of permanent settlement and the power of the English merchants and their ship masters. By the eighteenth century the English authorities were reluctantly accepting the fact of permanent settlement and the planters became an established population. Marilyn Porter has examined the role of women in this process of expansion and settlement of Newfoundland in "She was skipper of the Shore Crew: Notes on the history of the sexual division of labour in Newfoundland", in Labour/Le Travail, 15.

The nineteenth century saw a rapid increase in the population of Newfoundland, in which Catalina shared. Between 1836 and 1885 Catalina's population quadrupled in size from 442 to 1685. The nineteenth century also saw the expansion of settlement along the NE coast, the Northern peninsula and the coast of Labrador. Catalina developed as a supply and refitting port from which larger vessels departed to fish off the Grand Banks or the Labrador coast, or to prosecute the seal fishery. Because of its large and sheltered harbour, it made a much better gathering point than the more powerful Bonavista, and consequently Bonavista boats fitted out there and Bonavista merchants set up branches in Catalina to supply

their own and other ships.

Thus there was always a disproportionate number of merchant establishments in Catalina. The Newfoundland Directory for 1871 records 6 out of a total population of 1300. The picture that emerges from the rather scanty evidence is of a mercantile core in Catalina itself, providing wage labour and encouraging the establishment of skilled tradesmen such as blacksmiths and coopers. On the outskirts were smaller settlements such as East Point, Southside (now Port Union) and Shepherds Cove, which were mainly occupied by fishing families.

Catalina itself had poor soil, and while its inhabitants always picked berries for sale (especially blueberries and partridgeberries), there was very little cultivation. The land in the surrounding communities was better and allowed the traditional range of animal husbandry and vegetable growing. Similarly, inshore fishing and the sun drying of fish seems to have been concentrated outside Catalina proper. The reason it is difficult to be clear about this is because the boundaries used in the censes and other listings change, but are not usually recorded in the same document. Thus we are never entirely sure which of the smaller communities are included under Catalina, until quite recent censes.

Catalina declined from a heyday during the nineteenth century, especially when the First World War made the Banks and Labrador fisheries too dangerous. While this is a period we need to do further work on, it is clear that a large number of Catalina residents emigrated to find work, probably to the Boston States. We know that women went from many parts of Newfoundland as domestic servants in this period, and it is likely that Catalina women were among them, but we need further documentation of this.

A signal feature of Catalina's history in the twentieth century was the effects of William Coaker's activities. Coaker established his union, the Fishermen's Protective Union, in 1908 with its headquarters in Catalina - or rather in that outlying part of it known as Southside. He began

referring to the community as "Port Union" in 1911, and by the 1921 census it was separately enumerated.

The period 1910-1920 saw phenomenal expansion of the union's activities including the establishment of the Union Trading Company which had 40 cash stores around the island, the Union Shipbuilding Company, the Union Light and Power Company, the Union Export Company, and the union paper "The Fisherman's Advocate". All these activities had their headquarters in Port Union. It is difficult to assess the consequences of all this activity for Catalina itself. On the one hand, it was soon overshadowed by its more glamorous and successful offshoot, and must have lost many residents to the new town. On the other hand, the new and radical ideas promulgated in the FPU must have been discussed in Catalina, and new horizons opened to the inhabitants.

Coaker, for instance, was known to be in favour of women's suffrage. One wonders if it led to the idea being discussed locally. The FPU also provided construction work on all the new buildings and in the various enterprises. We do not know how far, if at all, this opened up new opportunities for women. We can find no evidence of Catalina women taking up jobs in either the stores or the other enterprises. Indeed, it is unlikely that they would be encouraged, because at a meeting held on the 13th of December in 1910 it was suggested that "where possible, preference be given to applicants of the Union for permanent positions in connection to these stores"(Coaker, 1930). Union members were, of course, all male. We have come across only one woman from Catalina, Louise Bursey, who worked in the FUTC from the mid-thirties until its closure in the mid-1970s.

Evidence from other parts of Newfoundland, and from the NE coast in particular, reveals a strong and continuing tradition of female economic contribution to the inshore fishing household. In the immediate vicinity, Hilda Murray's account of women's lives in Elliston from 1900-1950 gives a vivid picture of the range, variety, skill and intensity of women's work, and of the respect accorded to it in the community (Murray,1979). But

much of this revolved around their specific contribution of drying the fish caught by the men of the family. Not only does the inshore fishery seem to have been less significant in Catalina than in neighboring communities, but other activities (such as keeping animals and growing vegetables) also seem to have been less common in Catalina.

Various suggestions have been made for this, including the poor quality of the land in Catalina and the availability of wage labour (for men) in the merchants' operations. Berrypicking always seems to have been important. Mrs. House, for example, can remember picking 14 gallons of berries a day, which she sold for 10 cents a gallon. It is tradition that continues - her daughter made $400 on the partridge berries she sold last year.

Because we were puzzled by the absence of evidence of the same range of traditional economic activities carried out by women in Catalina that we knew were common in the area, we made a special effort to interview both local amateur historians and older women in the community. From this evidence, it is clear that it was only the women living in Catalina itself (the present-day centre of the town) who did not partake in the full range of activities. They did, however, pick berries and, of course, bake, pickle, cook, clean and raise children. The presence of more consumer items (such as soap and lye) and the absence of gardens and fishing flakes relieved them of some of the work carried out by their close neighbours in Shepherds Cove or East Point, but it did not alter their basic responsibilities.

While comparatively few women held paid jobs in Catalina, more had the experience of working in small businesses with their husbands. While the cluster of communities may have been enumerated separately for administrative purposes, there was no real distinction between them. Women moved between the communities when they married, or when their husband's work dictated it.

In the 1950s people were resettled from the outlying areas, often bringing their houses with them. Coupled with the mobility of the population of Catalina, this means that Catalina women shared in the same tradition of economic activity, even if it was not practiced to the same extent in the town. That the tradition is strong is not in doubt. Mrs. House, for example, whose father was a foreman on the railway and who lived in East Point, kept a garden, cows, hens and, unusually, rabbits. She made butter and hay and cleared the land of stumps. She even helped her father slaughter animals. At the age of 11 she cooked for a "crowd of 19" - 9 siblings, 2 cousins, 6 boarders and her parents. Later, when she was married, first to a fisherman who later went to the woods, and after his death to a seaman who later worked at Mifflins she herself painted her house, fixed the fence, dug ditches and hooked up the water from the well to the house. She spun wool and made yarn. She picked and sold berries. She also carried milk to the south side of Catalina to sell. Later, after her first husband died, she took up midwifery. She estimates that she delivered 100 babies. She never lost a mother, although 3 or 4 babies were still-born. Her mother-in-law lived with her for 24 years, bedridden for 4 of them.

Elsewhere, Marilyn Porter has pointed out that such full scale participation in the economic activity of the household radically altered both women's position and the community's perception of it (Porter, 1985). There are two points that have particular relevance to our discussion of women in Catalina today. One is simply the importance of this tradition in ensuring a positive ideology of women's position. We do not know the extent to which this was undermined by the lack of the full range of activities in Catalina itself. Another is the way in which women were infinitely flexible in their economic contributions.

It is clear, even from the brief summary of Mrs. House's activities, that she could and did turn her hand to whatever was necessary. The point was not exactly WHAT women did, but the expectation that they would contribute economically in whatever way was available. We come across the same feature when we examine contemporary women's work histories.

Our interviews gave us the persistent impression that Catalina women felt that something was lacking from the life of the community today, even a sense that it IS a community. Many of these women have moved to Catalina from communities that were resettled in the 1950s and 1960s, replacing other families that have moved away in search of work. These women remember communities that were much more intertwined. One woman expressed it thus:

> "Nobody had much and everyone pitched in and helped everyone else. You don't see that here. Everyone's working at the plant and they don't have time to visit like they used to. No one drops in any more".

In fact, this informant's kitchen saw a constant stream of visitors, and the people that came clearly did have a close and lively sense of community. But as Marilyn Porter has pointed out in a discussion of Grand Bank (Porter, 1986), this kind of nostalgia often disguises concern about perceived structural changes as well as reinforcing a common sense of values about what **ought** to constitute community or family life.

It is true, however, that both Catalina's different economic history and the changing population have led to memories of a different way of life among the older residents and a consequent sense of loss. One older woman who had lived in Catalina all her life reported that most of her contemporaries had moved to other places:

> "At one time it used to be really exciting. There used to be boats coming in and out all the time and the train used to come down. There was always something going on. There were a lot more shops then too."

Certainly there is much less movement on the waterfront today, and the train does not come anymore.

The period between the wars in Catalina is confusing to reconstruct, but it is important because it enables us to understand how and why women responded to the changes that took place in the community in the 1950s. An examination of the 1935 Census (which covers East Point and Shepherds Cove, but not Port Union) shows that most men were listed as fishermen (98) or labourers (38) out of a total population of 905. Only 21

women listed occupations other than that of homemaker: 12 servants, 5 salesladies, 1 washerwoman, 1 boardinghouse keeper, 1 music teacher, 1 stenographer and one teacher. Most of the servants were young single women (aged 15-27) and their salaries ranged from $42 to $75 per annum. At this time there were 7 merchants or salesmen listed, with salaries ranging from $300 to $1500 per annum. By 1945 only 33 men listed themselves as fishermen, while 32 called themselves carpenters and 41 were labourers. The large increase in construction work was due to the RCAF radio base at Elliston and the US Navy air warning radar station at Bonavista. Many men also left Catalina to work at bases in Goose Bay and Gander.

The war is remembered as a time of prosperity - as it was in many parts of the island. Consumer items became more readily available, and cash began to take the place of the credit notes issued by merchants. Women, however, were largely restricted to domestic labour in their homes. For many of them, this meant coping singlehanded while the men were away. Only about 40 women reported occupations other than that of homemaker. Seventeen were salesladies, a considerable increase from 5 in 1933. Only 3 reported work as domestic servants, an equally considerable decrease from 10 years before. Three appear to have had industrial jobs (one as an electrical worker, one as a seamstress with a "clothing manufacturer", and one as a box make[illegible]though we [illegible] not know where they were employed. The first waitress also appears in [illegible]is census return. Salaries have risen. The salesladies make from $180 to $480 per annum. The teacher made $885 and the boxmaker hit four figures at $1000 per annum.

There were 7 merchants listed in the 1945 census. Augustus Murphy (merchant, mercantile fish) and his wife Nellie (listed as a General Dealer); Samuel Mifflin and his two sons, Harold and Gordon (listed as Merchants - General Store and Fish); Stephen Day (General Store); Vincent Guy (retail merchant); Victor Martin (who ran a Grocery); and Samuel Elliott (mercantile and fish merchant). While these other firms may have provided some employment, the recent economic history of

Catalina is dominated by two firms, Mifflins and Fishery Products International (previously Fishery Products Ltd.).

Samuel W. Mifflin was an inshore fisherman who became the local manager of Templeman's, a large, traditional Bonavista-based merchant firm. When Templeman's went bankrupt in 1937, Mifflin was able to buy out the branch in Catalina and establish himself as the principal local merchant. By all accounts, he continued to operate on traditional lines - outfitting local fishermen and schooners headed for Labrador, buying in salt fish from as far afield as Labrador and acting as a local retail merchant. The credit system was in use until the 1950s, with vestiges of antique accounting continuing long after. Mifflins still has a local reputation as an old-fashioned firm and employer.

But in 1956, Mifflins, in response to the challenge posed by the construction of FPI's new fresh fish plant, formed a new company, Mifflins Fishery Ltd., and opened an innovative artificial drying plant with a new technology of kiln-drying fish from salt. This put more stress on buying in supplies of fish in salt, which was (and is) done by local agents, especially on the Labrador coast and the Quebec North Shore. Today 75% of the 200 people so employed during the summer are women. Only men, however, have been employed in the salt fish plant (which employs 50-60 men in the season). Thus male wage labour replaced the work traditionally done by women in sun-drying the fish. Since the inception of the Canadian Salt Fish Corporation, Mifflins has operated this part of their operation under contract to them.

Fishery Products Ltd. began construction on a fresh fish plant on the border between Port Union and Catalina in 1954, and the plant opened in 1957(14). The opening of the plant transformed the economic life of the area in a number of ways. First and foremost, it created a large number of jobs. It also introduced a new technology as well as modern styles of labour organization and management. Jobs and cash rapidly replaced household operations and credit relations with merchants. Such a transformation also affected economic relations within households, and this

must be a focus in future work. In 1973, the plant gained its own trawler fleet and became a two shift operation. 1980-81 saw a complete rebuilding of the plant and a doubling in the size of the workforce, in response to the increased supply of Northern cod as a result of Canada's imposition of the 200 mile limit.

FPI is, without doubt, the major employer of both men and women in the area, and its arrival in 1957 had a major impact on both the town of Catalina and the surrounding communities. In some ways this makes it harder to evaluate the recent economic history of the town because this fact is intertwined with other major changes that were transforming the province at the same time. The most important of these was, of course, the coming of Confederation in 1949 and the consequent access to federal benefits. Most of the island saw a transformation of their personal lifestyles in the 1950s with modern conveniences and communications becoming common and cash and wage labour replacing credit arrangements.

Ironically the Second World War also brought prosperity to Newfoundland, and a transformation of both expectations and lifestyles. Catalina shared in the general economic revolution. The impact of FPI, therefore, has to be seen as part of a larger process that was affecting the whole province in one way or another.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Catalina is a small, long-established town situated near the end of the Bonavista peninsula. It is a scattered community lying around a large natural harbour. While it has excellent access to fish, especially the Northern cod stocks now, the soil is very poor and barren and there are few trees near the town.

Catalina is 180 miles from St John's, 60 miles from Clarenville (the nearest point on the Trans Canada Highway) and 15 miles from Bonavista (the largest town on the peninsula). The shift from the sea as the main means of transport to road (and to a lesser extent, air) has made Catalina, like so many older communities round the coast, more peripheral.

While Catalina is characterized in the Newfoundland Encyclopedia as a "service and commercial centre", it is overshadowed by its near neighbour, Bonavista. Down the road on the TCH, Clarenville continues to grow in both size and influence. Catalina residents, for instance, have to go to Bonavista for the nearest RCMP detachment, the Trades College, the Department of Social Services, the stadium, the hospital, and even the dentist.

Many of the professionals who work in Catalina, such as the teachers and the public health nurse, actually live in Bonavista. The nearest CEIC office is in Clarenville, and the school board is run from there. The nearest shopping mall is also there, and there are more employment opportunities in Clarenville, especially in the service sector.

We have already commented on Catalina's population growth, and its decline in the first half of this century. The sudden drop between 1911-21 was caused in part by Port Union becoming a separate community under Coaker's leadership. But Catalina's population continued to drop until 1945 (which appears to represent the nadir in Catalina's fortunes) and even since the early 1960s growth has been very slow.

TABLE I

CATALINA - POPULATION

1580	?100
1836	442
1845	768
1885	1685
1891	1647
1901	1470
1911	1016
1921	651
1945	629
1951	815
1956	944
1961	1110
1966	1089
1971	1131
1981	1162

Catalina was incorporated in 1958. It has a mayor and 7 councillors, of whom one is currently a woman. The town clerk, also a woman, has held the job for 20 years. Water and sewage were installed in the town in 1972, although most houses have had electricity since at least the late 1950s(15).

The two major employers in the town are Mifflins and FPI. Mifflins employs a total of 32 employees in the office and store and 50-60 in the salt fish plant in season. They employ 14 women in the office, the grocery and the drygoods store.

FPI has about 1100 employees in its peak season (from January to May), and about 900 for the rest of the year. Of these, about one-third are female. Fifty-nine women and 81 men on the seniority list come from Catalina.

The 1981 census for Catalina shows the following occupational breakdown for employed women.

TABLE 2
FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN
1981 CENSUS

Processing workers	23%
Clerical	23%
Sales	19%
Service	19%
Other	16%
Total	**100%**

The voters list for 1985 shows 903 voters, 400 of whom are women. Of these women (by definition over the age of 19), 50% listed themselves as housewives, 8% as widows and 2% as spinsters. Of the remaining 167 who listed occupations, the breakdown is given in Table 3.

TABLE 3

FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN

1985 Voters List

Fishplant worker	52
Clerks, secretaries	40
Teachers	11
Students	8
Storeowners	6
Beauticians	4
Domestics	4
Waitress, cashiers	3
Bartender	3
Janitor	3
Sales assistants	3
Nursing assistants	2
Quality control	2
Managers	2
Postal clerks	2
Retired	3
Unemployed	5

There was also one each of - doctor, baker, town clerk, cook, pharmacist, busdriver, postmistress, X-Ray technician, accountant and nurse.

Results from our own survey of employers are included in the next section.

The labour force participation rate for women in Catalina has increased dramatically since 1981, mainly as a result of employment opportunities in the expanded FPI plant. The 1981 Census showed 30% of women in Catalina participated in the labour force. This was lower than the provincial average for women in 1981, which was 42.2%. It was also lower that the rate for the Bonavista-Trinity-Conception area of 38.0%. By 1986, when the Royal Commission carried out its study of nine Newfoundland communities, 57% of women in Catalina participated in the labour force - nearly doubling their participation rate in a 5 year period.

The 1981 census also showed a female unemployment rate of 23.1% and a male unemployment rate of 7.9% in Catalina. Of the unemployed, those women aged 15-24 showed an unemployment rate of 66.7%, while men in the same age group had an unemployment rate of only 13.3%. For those over 25, the female unemployment rate was 10% and the male unemployment rate was 6.1%. The unemployment rate for young men was about half the provincial average, while for young women it was about double the provincial average, and five times higher than their male counterparts in Catalina.

In 1981 construction had begun on the extension to the FPI plant, and it is likely that men from Catalina found work on the construction project. The unemployment rate for males in Bonavista during 1981 was double that of the Catalina men - 18.1%, while the female unemployment rates for the two towns differed only by 2 percentage points - 25% in Bonavista and 23.1% in Catalina.

TABLE 4

PARTICIPATION RATES

IN THE WORKFORCE

	1981	1986
Women	29.5%	57%

TABLE 5

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

	1981	1986
Men	7.9%	16.0%
Women	23.1%	17.0%
Men (15-24)	13.3%	
Women (15-24)	66.7%	
Men 25+	6.1%	
Women 25+	10%	

Since 1981 unemployment rates for men and women have more or less equalized, which means that men's rate has doubled while women's has declined. Unfortunately the Royal Commission Survey of Unemployment does not provide unemployment rates by age AND gender in the published tables, although this can be determined from the raw data held by Research Associates. According to the survey, youth unemployment at 12% is now lower than the unemployment rate for those over 25.

TABLE 6

Calculated Rates from Unemployment Survey (16)

	R5	PRi	Do	R-Self
15-24	12	8	18	16
25-34	18	11	18	20
35-44	16	16	22	22
45-64	20	12	33	35
65+	0	0	0	0

The expansion of the FPI plant has been particularly important in lowering the unemployment rate for young women (and for young men). This is especially the case because the pressure of work in the plant (the speed and the close supervision of production norms) favour the younger, faster workers.

There are 13 other employers of women that we have identified in Catalina, and we will briefly summarize the results of our interviews with them in the next section. It should be noted that, just as workers come from other centres to work at the FPI plant, so some Catalina women travel to Bonavista and other communities to find work.

OVERVIEW OF THE FEMALE LABOUR MARKET

In this section we will discuss, briefly, the information we have gathered from the Catalina employers. The current situation for women is distinguished by, on the one hand, the availability of jobs at the FPI plant, and on the other by a labour market characterized by a rigid occupational segregation by sex. Practically all women work in jobs ONLY held by women, in working groups comprising ONLY women - usually with direct male supervision. Women's jobs are concentrated heavily in the two areas of production work at the plant (and within that in trimming and packing) and clerical work. Men's occupations, on the other hand, are not only much more varied, but also include a greater number of managerial and professional occupations. Indeed, some of the small variation in the list of women's occupations can be found in the handful of women who have professional jobs as nurse, town clerk, doctor or teacher or else are the owner/manager of their own small business.

At this point we should note certain exclusions from our data on the jobs held by women. We have excluded casual workers. The FPI seniority list, from which we have worked, only includes workers who have completed 60 days of probation and are regular workers. No women from Catalina were added to the seniority list in 1986 (i.e. completed their probation and remained at FPI), and only 3 were added in 1985. This contrasts with the peak hiring periods of 1982, when 16 women who are still at FPI were added to the list, and 1983, when 12 women were added. This indicates a slowing down in the availability of work for women at FPI, but it may also indicate a growth in turnover rates for women.

Workers still on probation and workers taken on a casual basis increase the FPI total by about 300 workers at this time of year. Of this, perhaps 10-15 are Catalina women. Other employers also take on casual workers as and when they need them, for example the Midway store has two women on layoff at the moment.

A number of workers are employed on makework projects(17). For women the most important are the SAR projects, which employ Social Assistance recipients in order to give them sufficient stamps to transfer them to the (federal) Unemployment Insurance (UI) roll. At the time of the project some women were employed as domestics under this program and 10 were employed in a knitting project, one from Catalina and 9 from Melrose.

We do not have full details on those women who are self-employed. Some operate on a small scale out of their own homes as beauticians. Others (usually in partnership with their husbands) run stores. The largest and most successful of these partnerships is the Warren couple, who own Seaside Variety, and while we were in Catalina they opened a large new supermarket Foodland.

We also do not have details of the women who work in Bonavista or other communities. For example, some women from Catalina work in the seasonal crab plant in Bonavista. At least two women have jobs as nursing assistants at the cottage hospital in Bonavista. Nor have we included, at this point, those women who are employed by government agencies outside Catalina, but who work in Catalina (for example the public health nurse, employed by the Department of Health).

There are no daycare facilities in Catalina. We know that women with young children who work depend on private babysitters. They sometimes use a relative, but often they employ young women at the going rate of $60 per week or less. As yet we have no figures for how many young women are so employed, or who they are.

To assemble full and exact details on all the paid work carried out by every woman in the community would require a full survey. Even the partial information we have amounts to a much fuller picture than is available for any other Newfoundland community, and from it we can make a reasonably accurate assessment of the labour market for women in Catalina.

We have carried out interviews with 19 employers in Catalina, that is to say, all the significant employers of women in the community. Table 7 gives a breakdown of their employees.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN'S JOBS IN CATALINA

Employer	number of employees	women	women part-time	men	men part-time
Carpenters' Home Hardware	7	1	3	2	1
Duffetts Grocery	1	1			
Catalina Pharmacy	15	8	6	1	
Trendys	5	3	2		
Bank of Nova Scotia	10	8	1	1	
Liquor Store	6	2	1	1	
Post Office	3	2	1		
Town Council	7	1	5	2	
Astor	4	2	2		
Seaside Variety	15	6	5	4	
Library	2	1	1		
Midway	4	2	2		
Mifflins	35	14	18	3	
FPI (Seniority List)	140	59	81		

We asked all employers to supply information regarding sex, age, marital status, position, number of hours worked per week, pay and length of service. One major employer - Mifflins - would not supply details of pay, and because of the sheer size of FPIs payroll, we were unable to abstract details such as marital status for each employee from the personnel records(18).

Employees who were hired as "part-time" worked a variety of hours - some worked one or two hours a day, some worked just under 40 hours per week. There was a general impression among the people we talked to that part-timers were sometimes employed so that employers could avoid paying certain benefits or becoming vulnerable to unionization. The Labour Standards Board, however, has confirmed that all employers must deduct UI, CPP and tax and must provide vacation pay of 4% for all employees regardless of how many hours they work. The men we found working in part-time positions tended to be school age youths, picking up hours in the evenings or at weekends.

Apart from the 49 jobs in production at FPI, the vast majority of women are working in clerical (including 10 in the FPI office), cashier or sales assistant jobs. Very few of the jobs have any element of promotion in them, and most do not even have seniority. We found women who had worked in the same firm for 15 years earning no more than young women who had only been there for a few months. In the case of the production workers at FPI, experience may enable the women to get better speeds and, therefore, bonuses. On the other hand, as the women get older they may well suffer the physical hardness of the job more and this may slow down their speeds. In many cases women were working under younger men who had only been recently appointed. Our first impression is that these older women are taking considerable responsibilities for no reward. It is also often the case where only one or two men are employed in the same place as a number of women, that the man is in a senior position, often the only employee with possibilities for advancement.

We have been struck by the number of women with very long continuous service records. In a place where employment opportunities are limited, it makes good sense for people to hang onto their jobs if they can. But our initial findings from the labour force survey indicate that women find this very difficult to do in conjunction with their domestic responsibilities. For women to stay continuously in a job may require considerable sacrifices. Evidence from health professionals indicates that women receive very little support from their husbands, and suffer considerably in order to perform their two jobs. Our initial observation of migration to Catalina suggests that comparatively few women have the support of close female relatives in Catalina. It should be noted that all production work at FPI is on two shifts. This further complicates life for women trying to manage their children as well as their paid work. We have heard of women on night shift arriving home at 3.00 a.m., sleeping for 3 hours, and then getting up to get the children off to school, the housework done and dinner cooked before going back to work at 4.00 p.m.

A crucial difference between women's jobs and men's jobs in Catalina (as elsewhere) is pay. The women's jobs are poorly paid. Most jobs outside the plant pay at, or close to, the minimum wage. Relatively speaking, then, jobs at the plant paying $7.40 per hour are well paid. But, whereas top cutters can make $25,000 per annum, even the most assiduous and long serving packer cannot earn more than $18,000 per annum. This is less because cutters have a higher base rate than because cutters can earn 66% over their base rate in bonuses, whereas packers can only raise their base rate by 32%.

Women's pay falls into three general categories, as illustrated in Table 8.

TABLE 8
GENERAL PAY CATEGORIES

Type of Job	Rate per hour	pro rata per annum
Clerical, sales, babysitting	$4.00 or less	$8320
FPI	$7.50	$15,600
Bank, Post Office Federal Agencies	$9.00 or more	$18,720

It should be noted that some of the best paid work for women is in the banks or the post office. It has long been traditional for women to run the post offices in rural Newfoundland(19), and it continues to be an important source of good jobs for women. This is significant, particularly in the light of the current proposals to eliminate many of the post offices serving smaller communities.

Men's jobs are often tied implicitly or explicitly to a "career structure". Women's jobs are dead end. There is rarely any provision for, or expectation of, advancement - certainly not to management level. At FPI, which has some provision for advancement up the ranks, men have gone from production jobs to foreman, supervisor and into middle management. Women do not. One woman was promoted to foreman, but quit after a few months. While management says it would prefer a more balanced sex ratio at the supervisory level, no women are coming forward for the positions.

To supplement these very general comments, we would now like to present more detail on the two major employers of women in Catalina, Mifflins and FPI. By far the largest employer of women in Catalina is FPI. There seems always to have been a relatively strict sexual division of

labour in the plant, with men occupying the management and skilled cutting jobs and women taking the poorer-paid and least skilled positions. Of the 59 women on the seniority list who are from Catalina, 56 work in one of the following departments : trimming and boning (27), packing (19), office staff (10). Of the remaining 3, two are janitors and one is an IQF tunnel feeder. There are no women in management positions, nor have any women ever been trained for positions requiring apprenticeships. FPI has 80-85 salaried workers. The breakdown is as follows.

Office staff	18	(16 of whom are women)
supervisors/foremen	45	(no women)
personnel managers	3?	(no women)
Time/Motion Study	2?	(no women)
Quality Control	?	(no women)

(The full breakdown of production jobs was presented in Table 8)

TABLE 9

FPI PRODUCTION JOBS HELD BY CATALINA EMPLOYEES (1.1.87)

	Men	Women	Pay per hour
Discharge,Icers,Holding Shed	12	0	$7.60
Cutting Room	12	0	$7.60
Skinning,candling, trimming,boning	29	27	$7.50
Packing	1	19	$7.40
Packing Material Room	2	0	$7.60
Freezing, Cold Storage	3	0	$7.50
IQF Tunnel	2	1	$7.50
Machine Shop	4	0	
Cleanup, Janitor	1	2	$7.50
Production Maintenance	1	0	$9.50
General Labourers	5	0	
Office Staff	0	10	
Engineers	3	0	
Electrical	1	0	
Stockroom	3	0	$7.60
Crane Operators	1	0	$7.60
TOTAL	**81**	**59**	

All the women (except for office staff) worked 2 shifts. One week the shift ran from 7:15 a.m. to 4:15 p.m. (8 a.m. to 5 p.m. for the packers), the next week from 5:15 p.m. to 1:45 a.m. (5:30 p.m. to 2:00 a.m. for the packers). A ninth hour is compulsory. While workers have a guaranteed 133 hours pay per month, actual hours can vary according to the supply of fish. Frequently, therefore, workers can have their shifts cancelled at short notice, or be sent home for lack of work in the middle of a shift. Conversely, workers do not usually work Saturdays, but they may be required to do so if an excess of fish needs clearing. In other words, workers have to deal with an element of uncertainty in their working schedules. For women, this further complicates their problems when they are also having to deal with their domestic responsibilities, especially day care.

Workers are not free to miss shifts. Absence is noted and reprimanded, and more than a few absences will lead to the threat of dismissal. If a worker has to be absent because of illness for less than 7 days he or she simply loses the pay for that period, but they still have to bring a doctor's note testifying that they were sick. For minor illnesses, this leads to workers taking a day or two for (let us say) flu, and then having to take another day in order to obtain the note. On the eighth day of sickness the insurance scheme takes over and pays the worker for the entire period, less the first day. This scheme terminates after two weeks.

Workers ill for longer than two weeks have to go on UI, which covers workers for the next 17 weeks. Then the Insurance scheme comes back in, up to a maximum of 26 weeks. The maximum payable under the scheme is $150.00 per week. For workers off sick because of injury incurred at work, there is the entirely different scheme of Workers Compensation, which pays rather more. It is, therefore, in the interests of workers to claim a work injury rather than a non-related illness.

The whole rather cumbersome system has led to considerable friction, not only between workers and management, but also between the health professionals and both workers and management. One of the outcomes that

affects women particularly is that many workers feel obliged to continue working with minor illnesses such as colds or flu. Similarly, women feel they cannot take time off when their children are sick, or in need of special care.

There is no part-time work at the plant. This is important from the point of view of women, who often choose to work part-time in order to be able to look after their young children at the same time as doing a paid job. Maternity leave is generous, and workers CAN apply for special leave beyond the 9 months without losing seniority. Apparently few women avail themselves of this, partly, at least, for fear of losing their hard won jobs. Given that, in general, it is younger people who get taken on at the plant, this leaves young women contemplating having children with some difficult decisions about whether to stay on in their jobs and if so, how.

The plant does not provide day care, and there are no female personnel officers to provide guidance or support to such young women. In other words, there is a tension around the jobs women have at FPI. On the one hand, the jobs are available, regular and well paid. As such, they are enormously attractive to some women. On the other hand, the jobs themselves are very hard work in physically trying conditions and they are unskilled and dead end. Many women feel they do not want such jobs or do them only because there is nothing else available.

Mifflins employs no women in the salt fish plant or in the hardware department of the store. The women who are employed in the office, dry goods or grocery departments are all classified as clerks or cashiers. There are no women in management positions, and all women are directly supervised by male management. None of the women who work at Mifflins do so part-time. In contrast, three men have part-time jobs. These are all young men working extra hours in the evening or at weekends. At least one is the son of a manager. We were unable to ascertain pay rates at Mifflins, but other evidence suggests that it is low. There is no provision for seniority or promotion in any of the jobs. No one at

Mifflins is in a trade union, and Mifflins have resisted unionization. Benefits are inferior to those supplied by FPI or the government.

Nevertheless, women do stay at Mifflins. It has long been the provider of secure employment in the community, and employees build up feelings of loyalty to the firm and to the rather old fashioned style of management prevailing there. Tables 10 and 11 present some data on the Mifflins employees.

TABLE 10

SUMMARY OF MIFFLINS EMPLOYEES

	Total	Women	Men
All employees	32	14	18
Grocery	14	6	8
Dry Goods	7	5	2
Hardware	4	4	0
Office	7	3	4

TABLE 11

MIFFLINS FEMALE EMPLOYEES BY CLASSIFICATION

	age	year-hired
GROCERY		
Clerk	43	1981
Cashier	21	1985
Clerk	61	1970
Clerk	40	n/a
Cashier	33	1984
Cashier	41	1983
DRY GOODS		
Clerk	52	1967
Cashier	38	1971
Clerk	43	1965
Clerk	47	1971
Clerk	55	1975
OFFICE		
Payroll clerk	27	1986
Clerk Typist	22	1985
Clerk Steno	37	1973

Finally, in this section, we want to mention an important source of employment in the variously named and funded "make work" projects. We do not have a full list of these, or even of those that have employed women. By their very nature they are short term, ad hoc arrangements.

There are, however, two such projects operating in Catalina at present that have particular interest for us in terms of providing employment for women. One is the Home-aid programmes operated by the Department of Social Services. This provides welfare recipients with 10-20 weeks of work, doing domestic work for elderly or invalid people in the community. While it has all the limits of such projects, this one did appear to be directed more specifically both at the needs and skills of women in need of work and at the needs of the community. Certainly, the women we spoke to found caring for elderly people much more rewarding than short term construction work on projects of community enhancement. There is also the acute need for such services in the community to consider. The help such women can provide is often vital. The limitations are that the service is limited to domestic work and is only available one day a week.

The domestic skills of experienced women are customarily undervalued in our society and one deficiency of the project from our perspective is the way it treats the work of such women as unskilled and only to be rewarded at make-work rates until they can get a "proper" job. Such work should be recognized as both skilled and valuable and made use of in long term rewarding employment.

The other project was also funded under SAR. The Knitting Project employed 10 women, 9 students and one coordinator. The intention was that welfare recipients should have 20 weeks work, learning to knit. To be accepted on the project, participants must be welfare recipients, but unlike the Home-aid project, this one was directed at much younger women. The whole business of these kind of qualifications leads to some bizarre arrangements. One woman said she could not get on the project unless she had a youngster, so she "went and had one". They would not believe her, so she "had to drag the youngster up to Social Services to show them". Her mother quit work to look after the child while she went on the knitting project. While all this sounds extreme, it is not so unusual either for women to have children primarily for economic gain or for women in households to develop a common economic strategy, such as this.

None of the women were aware that they could get day care subsidy. On the other hand, the information is irrelevant in Catalina, because the subsidy is only available if the children are in a licensed centre, of which there are none in Catalina.

Most of the participants were under 30 years. Two were married. Some had no dependents but did have mental health problems that prevented them getting regular employment. It is generally accepted by both the participants and by the community that this is a classic make-work project - with no real training element, no prospect of regular employment, and no useful end product, except, of course, the stamps necessary for UI. Some participants found that they were worse off that when they started because they have had their rents in NLHC accommodation increased. While they are paid at minimum wage during the project, once it is over they only get $120 per week on UI, less than their Social Assistance entitlement.

The women on the project were well aware of its limitations and the atmosphere of frustration was evident. It was these women who suggested other kinds of projects that could supply their needs and produce an useful product. One idea that they suggested was the possibility of a coop that would pick berries and bottle them for sale in the local stores and further afield. They soon got involved in discussing the problems of marketing and production, seeing them as real problems with possible solutions - a far cry from the pointless exercise they were engaged on.

It is projects such as this that have brought the concept of make-work into disrepute. The community is resentful that women are being paid to learn how to knit (which women should know how to do anyway!) and at a rate exceeding that paid by some local employers. In addition there are several current misconceptions about the benefits participants DO get. Yet the women themselves are energetic and enthusiastic and deserve better than they are getting. In this section we have tried to describe what jobs are available to women in Catalina. We now want to turn to the women themselves and see how they constitute themselves as a labour force.

THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE

While the information gathered from employers and other sources gives us some idea of what jobs are available for women and who gets them, it does not tell us how the women in Catalina set about getting work, or how they make decisions about what kinds of work to look for and how it will relate to their domestic responsibilities. In order to get some information from the perspective of women workers we conducted a survey with a 5% sample of women drawn from the Voters List (1985), which excluded women under the age of 19 and included women over retirement age.

The revised version is appended to this report. We also interviewed informants such as health professionals who could throw light on factors affecting women's labour force participation - such as domestic responsibilities, health factors and educational factors.

Children in Catalina attend St. Peter's Elementary school, and are then joined by children from nearby communities such as Port Union, Melrose and Amherst Cove at St. Peter's Junior High. In Grade 9 all these children are joined by children from a considerable catchment area including Melrose and Port Union at Lench High School, situated on the outskirts of Catalina. Thus children have coeducation throughout their school careers. Lench High School is an impressively energetic and lively school, with an enthusiastic staff and a good reputation.

There is only one woman on the staff of 12 (a young woman of 24) who teaches Social Studies. This not only deprives female students of sufficient role models but also means that more specific help is not available. For example, the adolescent sexuality course is taught by two male teachers in Grade 9. However well this is done, it cannot provide the kind of support girls of this age need. Some of this deficiency is made up by the Public Health nurse who is frequent visitor to the school and helps to teach the course in Family Living taken by students in Grades 11 and 12. While the Principal is well aware of the need for more female staff, it is extremely

unlikely that more than one or two will be appointed in the foreseeable future - in part because of the very low turnover of staff at the school.

The Principal reported about two pregnancies a year among his female students. As there is no Guidance Counsellor in the school, students come to him or the (male) vice-principal for help. Again, it is difficult to imagine that young women of 15 or 16 can discuss such issues openly with a man, however sympathetic. Solutions to the problem vary. Some students have had abortions, although this is both a difficult and expensive solution given the lack of facilities within the province. In the majority of cases pregnant students have the babies, who are then brought up by the grandparents. The students are then encouraged to return to school, although it is hard to imagine such young women returning to their studies with full-hearted commitment.

A bigger problem in terms of the young women's future employment opportunities is the dropout rate. This is equally a problem for boys and girls. The school loses 10 to 12 students a year, about a 5% rate. They are usually low-achievers and often have difficult family backgrounds. Both boys and girls are attracted by the possibility of work at the fish plant, and the Principal sees the immediacy of the plant as a problem in terms of encouraging dropouts. Catalina has the highest dropout rate in the district. For girls, of course, there is also the possibility of work as babysitters. Because there is no day care available in the area, all working women with children have to find babysitters - a topic we will cover in more detail later. On the whole, women prefer to employ their own relatives, but many use young girls such as school dropouts.

We found it very difficult to get information on exactly how many young women were employed as babysitters and how much they were paid. Much of this work is undeclared, and most of it is paid at well under the statutory minimum wage for domestic workers of $2.75 per hour. The going rate for babysitters in the community was $50 to $60 per week. Depending on the number of hours worked, this could be as little as $1 per hour. Some young women, especially if they were related to the mother of the

children, were paid even less. Girls dropping out of school to do such work would find it almost impossible to return to the training necessary to get better jobs later on.

The Principal also drew our attention to the problem of absenteeism, which is more prevalent among girls than boys. Some 20 students are absent each day, of whom 15 will be girls. Some have vague ailments, but many more are helping their mothers, especially in cases where both parents are working. These are girls whose education suffers because they have to supplement the domestic labour of their mothers.

Lench High School provided a detailed breakdown of the enrollment in Maths and Science courses from Grade 9 to Level 3.

TABLE 12
LENCH HIGH SCHOOL
Enrollment in Maths and Science Courses

Subject	Grade	boys	girls
Science	9	27	38
Maths	9	27	38
Earth Science 2203	Level 1	12	5
Chemistry 2202	Level 1	6	9
Biology 2201	Level 1	7	11
Physics 2204	Level 2	8	15
Chemistry 2202	Level 2	7	6
Science 3205	Level 2	6	3
Physics 3204	Level 3	11	19
Physical Science 2205	Level 3	10	18

These figures present a picture of apparent equality. Indeed the girls appear to be enrolling in higher numbers than the boys. However, the high number of girls in Physics 3204 can be accounted for because all students need a third level Science course to enter most post-secondary institutions. In this case Physics 3204 is the only one that would qualify them.

Lench High School also provided us with the destinations of students graduating in 1981 and 1986.

Boys	1981	1986
FPI	15	6
Army	1	0
MUN	2	5
Stores	1	1

Girls	1981	1986
FPI	10	3
Trades	2	5
MUN	4	4
Stores	4	3

It should be noted that these last figures are far from complete. In the case of the 1986 graduates, many have returned to school to try to improve their grades.

It appears that while nearly equal numbers go to Memorial University, the girls take education and social work and the boys take science based subjects. Many able girls go into nursing. Some take secretarial courses at Trades School. A few go into the RCMP, the Newfoundland Constabulary and the armed forces. A considerable number of boys also enter these professions. Other common routes for boys are to take courses such as auto mechanics at the College of Trades and Technology, or to go to the Marine Institute.

There are two general points to be made about this information. One is that ALL young people - male and female - have to leave Catalina to

continue their education. There is a Vocational School in Bonavista, but apart from that there are no post-school institutions in the area. Once their education is complete, Catalina's young people will have to take jobs as nurses, teachers etc. wherever they are available around the province. Their chances of finding the work they have been trained for in their home town are very slim. Catalina, like most Newfoundland communities, thus loses about half its young people, including many of the most able and energetic. The converse of this is that if a young person has attachments in the community - a child that is being looked after by parents, or a fiance, she will be unable to take up opportunities to continue her education.

The other point that stands out is that whatever may seem to be happening in terms of equal opportunities for girls at the school level, it is not being reflected in their post-school career choices. The principal could not give any examples of girls going into non-traditional careers, and very few were attempting anything other than the well worn routes of teaching or nursing.

While we awaited the data from Lench High School, we examined a year book from 1972 with a graduate of that year to confirm our impressions. Of a class of 29, 10 remain in Catalina. Of the 11 women in the class, one is a nurse in Goose Bay, one is in the armed forces, one works in Sobeys in Clarenville, two have moved away to marry and have lost touch, one is married and living in Port Union, one is married and living in Elliston and four are working in the FPI plant.

This is the background against which we must see other information of the women workers in Catalina. We carried out full interviews with 16 women. This does not enable us to draw any statistical conclusions. However, a consideration of these women's current position in the labour force and their past work histories does present us with a number of factors which are generally experienced. We will therefore provide a brief description of the results of the labour force survey, followed by a discussion of some of these factors.

The following table presents the respondents current status in the labour force.

TABLE 13

LABOUR FORCE SAMPLE, CURRENT STATUS

Retail Worker(full time)	1
Retail Worker(part-time)	1
Plant Worker(FPI) regular	2
Plant Worker(FPI) casual	1
Unemployed	4
Not in the Labour Force	4
Self Employed	1
Dept. of Social Services (Bonavista)	1
Dept. of Social Services (Home Aid Project)	1
Total	16

Of the four women who are presently unemployed, two expect to be rehired in the near future. One is a casual worker at the FPI crab plant in Bonavista. She has been hired for the past four seasons, and expects to be hired again when the plant reopens this summer. She works with 90 other women in the plant, and the only foreman is male. There is an informal understanding that the women who are hired first will give up their jobs when they have enough stamps for UI, to enable other women to collect them. The other woman worked in a retail outlet, and was laid off after Christmas when business was slack. She hopes to be re-hired in May or June, when business is expected to pick up again. It is the first time she has been unemployed in 6 years.

The other two women have been unemployed for some time - one for 6 years and one four 4 years. Both women are married to men who have senior jobs, and both feel that this is the main reason that they themselves cannot get work - either in the fishplant or with any of the other local employers. As one said:

> "When a person goes to the plant and they know your husband has a good job, they put you right on the bottom of the list".

Both these women have above average qualifications and experience. One has 3 years of university. The other has a long and successful work history in a variety of clerical and cashier jobs. She is currently taking a secretarial course at the Vocational School in Bonavista, but without any real hope of it improving her chances. One woman felt that she suffered an additional disadvantage because her husband did not come from Catalina, and so he could not use family contacts to help her get a job.

The regular fishplant workers have worked at the plant for 10 and 12 years respectively. Both women have relatives (a father or a husband) who have worked at the plant, and both say that is how they found out about the job. While FPI has no overt policy to employ members of the same family, it would be quite understandable for a manager engaged in hiring to prefer people who already had some understanding of the routines and expectations. Similarly, FPI does not consciously avoid hiring women whose husbands have good jobs, but if this is a common ethic in the community, local management would presumably share it.

One woman had worked at FPI continuously for 12 years. She has no children. The other woman worked there for four years. She then had a baby and stayed at home for 5 years. She regained her job at FPI 6 years ago and has worked continuously since then. Because she is one of the office staff, she does not have to work shifts and this considerably eases her babysitting problems. Her daughter goes to her grandmother after school, unless her husband is working night shift, in which case he is available to look after her.

The woman who works casually at the plant is 38 years old and has worked seasonally for 4 years - usually from January to May. Last year she worked for 13 weeks. In 1983 she had to quit a regular job at the plant because she could not find a babysitter to cover the night shift. Her children are currently aged 4 and 6 and her husband also works at FPI. This woman expressed some of the common difficulties women experience in finding reliable childcare. Previously, she had employed a 48 year old woman, who not only looked after her children for $20 per day, but also cleaned the house and cooked meals. She had not since found the young women who were available either as reliable or prepared to do so much work for so little money.

Clearly what we are encountering here is a major problem both from the point of view of women who need reliable, good quality childcare, but whose own wages do not enable them to pay much to babysitters, and from the point of view of the women who take jobs as baby sitters, where they are expected to do a highly skilled and responsible job for even less than the pitiful statutory minimum laid down for domestic workers.

Two women in the sample worked in the retail trade - one part-time and one full-time. The part-time worker works two hours a day, 5 days a week. She has held her current job for 7 years. She is paid a flat $4.00 per hour, with no deductions. The full time worker has worked in the same establishment for 20 years. She works 42 hours a week at an hourly rate of $4.15. She clearly illustrates the dead end nature of women's work in the retail trade in Catalina. This is a mature woman of considerable experience, and yet in 20 years she has not been able to advance beyond minimum wage and a lowly position in the hierarchy.

The self-employed woman has run her own hairstyling business for 5 years. She has no employees. While the hours are long and she must perform all aspects of the business herself, she finds the rewards, both financially and in terms of independence, compensate for this. She is unusual in that she runs her business on her own. In our discussion of the labour market we noticed that the only women who had been able to

advance were either professionals or ran their own businesses (but this was usually in conjunction with their husbands).

One woman works full time with the Department of Social Services. A young woman, she has completed two years of the Social Work degree at Memorial. She decided to apply for the job in Bonavista in order to finance the rest of her training without running up a large bill with student aid.

Four women were not in the labour force. Ms. A is aged 21 and has two children aged 2 years and 2 months. She has no work experience, but does not currently want a job because of the ages of her children. Ms. B is 47 years old. She had a teaching certificate, but when they upgraded the qualifications it was not sufficient and she left the labour force 24 years ago. She has no children, but is not looking for work. Ms. C is aged 57 and left school with Grade 8. She has one adult child. She last worked 10 years ago as a bartender, and left because she did not like the work. Ms. D is aged 62 and left school with Grade 10. She last worked outside the home as a domestic 35 years ago. She has two adult children.

These four women represent two types of women who are outside the labour force. One is the young women with small children. They are not working either because they prefer to look after their children full time, or because of lack of alternative child care. If they are married and their husbands have good jobs, then they may be in a position to choose, but many women with small children have to work because the household cannot survive otherwise, and may still be unable to because of lack of child care or lack of employment opportunities. The other women all represent an older generation, for whom paid work outside the home was exceptional. Their economic contribution was more likely to have been in the form of household subsistence activities. Nevertheless, women such as these often find they are forced to look for work if they are widowed or if their husbands are unemployed or disabled. Their position in the labour market is very weak, because they have neither qualifications nor work experience. The young women who leave school with minimum

qualifications, marry and have children without having established themselves in the workforce find the same problems when they try to re-enter the labour market when their children are older.

In order to provide more focus, we will now discuss one of the sample in more detail. We have called her "Ellen". Age 50, she currently works as a domestic on a home-aid project funded by the Department of Social Services. She provides house cleaning services to senior citizens, working one day a week in each home. To qualify for employment on these projects the applicant must be a Social Assistance recipient. Ellen and her husband have been receiving Social Assistance since 1985 when Ellen's husband was disabled due to illness. His disability pension could not support them and they had to turn to Social Assistance.

Ellen then tried to find work, and was eventually placed on the Home-aid project, which will give her 10 weeks work, thus qualifying her for Unemployment Insurance. People on such projects are paid $200 per week for 10 or 20 weeks (whichever is necessary to qualify them for UI), after which they are entitled to draw UI at the rate of 60% of $200, i.e. $120 per week for one year. If no work is available after a year then the recipients have to return to Social Assistance. Ellen is also providing a service for a diabetic man, whom she visits twice a day to give him his insulin injections. As she is paid for this service she will not be eligible for UI when she finishes the Home-aid project. Ellen's work situation is thus far from satisfactory. It also in no way reflects her ability and experience. Let us examine how she came to reach this point.

Ellen graduated from High School in 1953. She attended Teachers' College in St Johns for two summer school sessions and taught for 6 years successively in Upper Island Cove, Bareneed, Bay L'Argent, Goulds, Blaketown and Catalina. Each time she was forced to move on because of the need for her to have more formal qualifications.

In 1959 she married and had her first and only child, remaining at home for 3 years as a homemaker. Then she took a job as a part-time clerk in

a local store, holding it for 2 years before the store was taken over by new management. Her next job was as a "girl friday" in an office. It lasted a year and a half until the company went broke. After that, Ellen was unemployed for 2 years before finding a part-time job as a receptionist in a doctor's office. This lasted another 2 years until the doctor left the community. After a brief period of unemployment, Ellen found work teaching food preparation at the Vocational School. Three years later she was forced to leave because she did not meet the new qualification requirements introduced at the time.

Her next employment was as a cook, a job which lasted about one and a half years before she left it because of domestic pressures at home. She stayed at home for the next two to three years, until her husband had to leave his work because of ill health. The only work Ellen could find then was as a babysitter at $65 per week. She left that job when she was offered the Social Services project.

About 7 years ago Ellen's daughter, her husband and their 3 children moved in with Ellen and her husband. Her son-in-law is currently unemployed. He works as an inshore fisherman, and his work is seasonal. Ellen's daughter currently performs much of the domestic labour in the house - cooking, baking, packing lunches, shopping, washing, ironing and caring for her children, her husband and her invalid father. When Ellen is not working she also participates in these activities, although neither of the men is reported to help with domestic work. Ellen's daughter has never had a paid job. When the spring comes she and her family intend to look for their own home.

Neither Ellen's work history nor her current situation are atypical. Ellen is clearly an able, intelligent and energetic woman, capable of much more challenging work than she has at the moment or has had in the past. At the moment she is the sole wage earner in the family, though not the provider of all the economic support. Other members of the family variously qualify for such benefits as invalid pension, child benefit and unemployment insurance. Nevertheless Ellen's financial contribution is

vital, and her very low pay imperils the economic standing of the whole household.

Like many women, Ellen did not take her education and training seriously. She got enough to qualify her for an immediate job, and left it at that - a lack which has haunted her throughout her working life. She now bitterly regrets not getting more qualifications when she was younger. As she rightly realizes, she could be currently holding down a good job in the elementary school, and looking forward to a good pension. But, like many women, by the time she realized the vital need for qualifications, or by the time they were required, she was in no position to obtain them. For one thing she did not have the financial resources to pay for training courses, and for another she could not leave her domestic responsibilities for the time required to go to St John's to do the courses. There are many women in Catalina ready, able and in need of training courses who cannot do them because there are none available within commuting distance of their home town.

Like many of the work histories we collected, Ellen's is characterized by short term, dead end, low skilled and low paid jobs. It is also characterized by her capacity to take any job - however unpleasant or badly paid, and hold it down. We were constantly impressed by women who have willingly taken any job that came their way, according to what was available and how it could be fitted into their domestic responsibilities and the economic needs of their households. The resulting work histories look patchy and inconsistent, and the reality is that the women are trapped in jobs at the bottom of the pile. Yet this is not an adequate reflection of the women's abilities or why they took the jobs. They fit, rather, into a complex but coherent pattern of household survival.

Women take jobs in accordance with the needs of their FAMILIES, not to forward their personal careers. Thus their willingness to take unskilled, badly-paid work reflects not only the reality that there is nothing else available for them, but their own perception that this was only PART of

their contribution to the household. The labour market is not structured around this logic, and consequently such women are severely disadvantaged within it - a fact that becomes crucial for the whole family and for the community when the overall economic strategy breaks down. This can come about because of family breakup, invalidism, unemployment or changes within the labour market.

The result is the situation in which Ellen and her family find themselves. Their economic strategy was both sound and satisfied deeper personal and family values. Through no fault of their own, but because of ill-health and unemployment, the strategy has failed. The result is a family dependent on a variety of inadequate state subsidies and the tiny wages that Ellen can command.

We will be looking in more detail at the way in which women's economic position both affects and is affected by household economics. In this section we have been more concerned to describe the position women find themselves in the labour force, and how they have got there.

WOMEN'S ECONOMIC LIVES

The concept of "household strategies" has been central to this study. It has served to alert us to the other economic dimensions to people's lives. It has helped us to understand the reasons women occupy such a different place in the labour market. It makes us appreciate the hidden economic contributions of domestic labour, voluntary work and household subsistence activities.

All these interests were focussed in the pilot replication of R.Pahl's **Household Strategies** study. We revised the original questionnaire used in the Isle of Sheppey to reflect the different experience in Catalina, but kept as much of the original as we could so as to preserve the element of comparability. The questionnaire is very extensive. The main areas it covers are household composition, mobility, labour force participation of all household members, how households get various kinds of work performed, how household members contribute their labour to their own and other households, household resources (skills and tools), attitudes towards work and employment and how decisions about household economic strategy are made.

Obviously full use of this questionnaire would involve its use with a substantial sample of households, as well as the other components of the study that R. Pahl carried out. In this case, we carried out the questionnaire with four households only. We also had the concerns of the Sheppey study very much in mind when we carried out the labour force survey and when we were talking to our various informants. The intention, apart from testing the research instrument, was to see if the concepts used in that study could be useful to us in Catalina. In fact, we are impressed by both the effectiveness of the instrument and by the analytical power of the concepts underlying it. We look forward to developing these ideas in a larger project. In this section, we will simply be presenting the material on the households we studied in detail, and developing some of the themes that emerge from it.

We have chosen to describe three of these households in detail. The first household consists of a 62 year old widow, who does not work outside the home, and her 33 year old daughter who is a production worker at FPI. The second household consists of a 35 year old woman, unemployed but seeking work, her school teacher husband and their three children. The third household consists of a 52 year old sales clerk, her husband and their 26 year old son, both in full time work(20).

When we began to work with the concept of "households", we were concerned to avoid the mistake of assuming that households meant the conventional nuclear family, with a wage earning husband, a wife engaged in domestic labour and two or more dependent children, especially if this implied that all other household forms were "non-standard". Many studies have shown that the stereotypical nuclear family is, in fact, increasingly unusual(21). We were also concerned not to import value judgement into our study about how people "ought" to live.

We were, therefore, interested to note how few stereotypical families came up in our labour force sample or elsewhere in our enquiries. Instead, we found widows and widowers living with or without adult children. We found families caring for one or more elderly or disabled parents. We found families with three wage earners and others with none. We found households where the only earner was the wife and others that got by on a variety of benefit payments. We found middle-aged childless couples, and others who had not only their children living with them, but also their grandchildren. We found women bringing up young families on their own, because of death or desertion, and women coping with a husband whose job takes him away for weeks or months at a time. All these, and many other "variations" comprise the "households" in which people in Catalina as elsewhere create and carry out economic strategies.

Household A: the Deckers

Mrs. Decker's husband died quite recently, after a brief fight with cancer, leaving Mrs. Decker and her daughter, Sandra. Sandra works at FPI as a packer. Her shifts rotate weekly - a week of "days" followed by a week of "nights". Mrs. Decker is 62 years old. The last time she worked outside the home was 34 years ago, when she worked as a domestic. She left that job when she married.

She has two children. The eldest, a boy, works as a teacher in St. John's, and is married with a baby daughter. Sandra graduated from High School in Catalina in 1972 and went on to the Trades School in Bonavista for two years. She did a course in Crafts for one year and a course in Beauty Culture for another. Thus trained, Sandra went to look for work as a beautician in St John's. But everywhere she tried required "previous experience", so, discouraged, she returned to Catalina. She began to work at FPI 12 years ago and has worked there ever since.

Mr. Decker also worked at FPI for 19 years, until his illness. In fact, the family moved to Catalina in order to find employment. A good handyman, he renovated the house they bought in Catalina. He also did all the maintenance and upkeep, such as painting, mending windows, laying carpet, putting up shelves and building a new kitchen. He died leaving enough wood to see the family through at least one w ter.

Sandra and Mrs. Decker share most of the day-to-day domestic chores. Mrs. Decker does most of the cooking, washing and ironing of clothes and making of beds. Sandra does the main grocery shopping and washing of dishes. They do not grow vegetables, but Sandra regularly picks berries and her mother makes jam from them.

The recent death of Mr. Decker has caused a profound shift in the household's economic strategies, which were still being worked out at the time of the interview. Obviously the loss of Mr. Decker's income was a major blow, only slightly softened by his pension. Possibly just as

important was Mr. Decker's other economic contributions in terms of house maintenance, wood collection and a variety of other subsistence activities.

In terms of Pahl's suggestions, it is clear that Mr. Decker also contributed his skill, labour and tools to other households. It is the returning of these "debts" that is currently easing life for the new widow and her daughter. Neighbours provide some of the missing services. One young man comes by daily to bring wood from the shed to the porch, and he or one of his male relatives clears the snow. Women of this family visit daily and pick up Mrs. Decker's mail. It is also clear that Mrs. Decker has always provided a warm and welcoming meeting point. The house is centrally situated and there is always someone home, with a cup of tea at the ready.

Some of the complexity of these arrangements was illustrated one afternoon. An elderly man had called by, and shortly after another elderly man (a relative of the Deckers who lived in an outlying community) also came by. After some cups of tea and conversation it became clear that the meeting had been prearranged so that the second visitor could cut the first visitor's hair - a task he accomplished with skill and aplomb, for the sum of $4. It is an interesting example of how the informal economy works, but from our point of view, what is interesting is that one element in the economic exchange is Mrs. Decker's provision of space, light and warmth for the operation. It is this economic contribution that will allow the Deckers to restructure their resources so as to replace Mr. Decker's labour.

The role of the extended family is also important. The Deckers have no close relatives living in Catalina itself, but they do have a dense network of relatives living in Port Rexton and other communities. These relatives frequently come to Catalina. Some work at the plant. Mrs. Decker's central location and her friendly kitchen mean that she can provide a valuable resource to her relatives.

The Decker household had a total income of $25,000. Sandra earns $15,000 per annum and Mrs. Decker receives $9000 in Spouses Allowance and CPP. Just recently Mrs. Decker has begun to take boarders, which provides both much needed company and some more income. Mrs. Decker also receives help from Social Services in the form of Home-aid worker, who comes for one day a week to do vacuuming and other heavy housework.

The Decker household has always been characterized by a clear sexual division of labour. The death of the only male thus poses particular problems for this household. But such is the subtlety of the economic networks between households, they can renegotiate their strategy without altering the nature of their own economic contributions.

Household B: the Browns

The Brown household consists of the Mr. and Mrs. Brown, both in their 30s and their three children, aged between 5 and 9. Mrs. Brown has lived in Catalina since she was 10 years old, when her parents moved there from Conception Bay. She graduated from High School in 1968 and went on to Memorial University to study Education. She stayed two years before she accepted a teaching position on the west coast of Newfoundland. She taught there for a year and then returned to Memorial to continue her education, which she did for a further year. Then she accepted a job back in Catalina, and returned to teach there for 6 years. She had intended to return to Memorial to complete her degree, but she met her husband (who was teaching at the same school) and they married in 1973.

Mr. Brown, who is fully qualified, is teaching at the same school, but Mrs. Brown left her teaching job in 1978 in order to adopt a child. Since then she has had two children of her own. For the last 7 years Mrs. Brown has taken work as a substitute teacher and is looking for a full-time job. She is unable to get much time as a substitute teacher because she has fewer qualifications than other substitutes in the area and,

therefore occupies a lower position on the call list. She is unable to take the courses required to complete her degree in the Catalina area, and she cannot attend Memorial University in St John's because of her domestic commitments.

Despairing of teaching work, Mrs. Brown has been actively looking for other work for the last 4 or 5 years. She is unable to find work at either the FPI plant or in the local stores, and attributes this to the fact that people know that her husband has a good job, and that, therefore, she doesn't "deserve" a job.

Mr. Brown is from the mainland and has no relatives in Catalina. Mrs. Brown's only living relative is her elderly father. She visits him daily, and calls him twice a day since her mother died. She also contributes to his household by doing his shopping and his vacuuming. In addition she cleans and vacuums for another elderly friend in the community. She also contributes time and energy to a variety of community groups for young people and church committees.

The Browns take care of their own painting and plastering. Mr. Brown does the exterior painting and a variety of interior maintenance odd jobs. While they have a garden where vegetables could be grown, they do not plant any vegetables.

Mrs. Brown takes almost total responsibility for all the domestic chores, including dish washing, tidying, vacuuming, cooking, shopping and washing and ironing clothes. She is also usually the one who takes care of the children, and certainly the one who is responsible if they are sick or need collecting from school and other activities. However, both parents go to see the children's teachers or take them to the doctor when necessary.

The total household income, which is largely derived from Mr. Brown's salary, is $25,000 to $30,000 per annum. The Browns illustrate a relatively conventional middle class economic strategy. The sexual division of labour is fairly pronounced, with the husband earning the wage and the wife

taking responsibility for the care of the household. In this case, we can see that Mrs. Brown would be much happier if she could take greater financial responsibility, and perhaps less domestic responsibility. That she cannot is related to gender. Like many young women, her priority was not to finish her training. Faced with a choice between marrying her husband and returning to St John's to complete her degree, Mrs. Brown made the conventional choice, and has suffered as a result.

The problem is compounded because of the community ethic that allocates jobs according to need. Mrs. Brown does not "need" a job because her husband has one, and furthermore, he lacks the dense networks of kin, which might enable the Browns to overcome this embargo. In a community where work is in short supply, it is inevitable that notions about who **should** get the jobs will become established. They seem to apply more strongly to women than to men.

We sometimes felt that women had to demonstrate "need" to the community before they could get a job. They also apply more strongly **between** women. In the crab plant, for instance, there is a clear expectation that women will stand down when they have earned enough to qualify for UI, so that others can have a chance. We frequently found women critical of other women that they considered to be working illegitimately. We also, of course, came across women who felt that they were penalized by the community ethic; who badly wanted to work and who had skills and commitment to contribute, but who were prevented from doing so.

One of the difficulties is that there is no public discussion of this issue; nowhere where women could challenge it or where new perspectives could be applied. In particular we became aware of the covert power of employers in enforcing the ethic. On the one hand, nearly all employers in a town such as Catalina are faced with too many applicants for too few jobs. It is only natural to seize on one way to shorten the lists. On the other hand, most employers deny that they do operate such discrimination, which makes it extremely difficult for anyone to challenge it. Meanwhile,

the actual situation contributes to increasing the imbalance of economic power between men and women.

Household C: the Ivanys

The last household consists of Mr. Ivany, aged 60, a manager in a local business, his wife, aged 52, who is a clerical worker in the same firm, and their son Brian, a 26 year old school teacher.

Mrs. Ivany has held the same job for 20 years, and her husband has been employed there for 36 years. They have two sons, both teachers - one living with them and teaching locally and the other teaching on the mainland. Both Mr. and Mrs. Ivany completed school, and both have considerable work experience, but while Mr. Ivany has risen to a management position in his firm, Mrs. Ivany remains in the same position she has held for 20 years. She earns just 15 cents over the minimum wage, and while she was unwilling to divulge her husband's salary, we can estimate that he earns approximately three times as much as her.

In the last 5 years they have had some work done to their house, including interior and exterior painting, plastering work, carpet fitting, the addition of a bathroom and the conversion of basement space. This work was all undertaken by a local firm. Mrs. Ivany feels that she does her fair share of the housework. Mr. Ivany usually does the dishes and she usually tidies and vacuums the house. They share the cooking and all three household members pack lunches. Mrs. Ivany does the baking and the main grocery shoppping. She also washes and irons the clothes. It is clear that Mrs. Ivany's definition of "fair share" does not mean that she expects the men in the household to contribute equal amounts of domestic labour. It should be remembered that in this example, all three members of the household are holding down fulltime jobs. Yet Brian's contribution is minimal to the domestic work necessary. Indeed, he is almost certainly not aware of the quantity of work his mother does. Mr. Ivany is ready to contribute some of his labour on a regular basis, and certainly takes much

more responsibility for the maintenance of the household, in terms of decisions about expenditure on improvements and supervising their execution.

Mr. Ivany grows vegetables for the family. Mrs. Ivany bakes bread regularly, and also pickles a good deal. The whole family picks berries, which Mrs. Ivany makes into jam. As well as caring for her own household, Mrs. Ivany also carries out dinner to a disabled neighbour two or three times a week.

The Ivanys in some ways represent the most fortunate of our households. All three members are working, and they have worked out an effective and stable economic strategy. The total income for this household was not revealed, but is obviously considerable. However, it is less clear in this case who has control over the finances. Brian contributes "a little" and presumably disposes of the rest himself. Mr. and Mrs. Ivany have joint finances, but the huge discrepancy in their earnings gives Mr. Ivany an implicit edge in financial decision making.

The remnants of traditional subsistence activities (gardening, baking, and pickling) serve both to enhance the quality of the household's life and to make relations between the couple more equal. There is little point in picking berries if they are not transformed into jam. Financial security and lack of time, if not lack of skill or inclination, would have prevented the Ivanys from undertaking much house maintenance themselves. What we see here is a household characterized by apparent equality - all members work for pay and all members contribute to the household maintenance. But the arrangements remain fundamentally uneven, especially with regard to the contributions of the adult son.

We have not presented the full mass of detail on these three households but used them, rather, as illustrations of some general features about household strategies in Catalina. We want now, to turn to some important issues in the lives of women in Catalina.

Daycare

There are no day care facilities in Catalina. There have been two attempts to institute a day care centre. The Rural Development Association looked into the possibility, but found the bureaucratic obstacles too daunting. Another woman put in a proposal to the Department of Social Services for a 24 hour Day Care centre, but that was too expensive.

Meanwhile, there is a lot of day care, in the sense of people other than the parents caring for small children. By and large, the first choice is for a mother-substitute - a female relative, preferably the grandmother. The next choice is for a female, often a very young female to care for the children in their own home. Few people in Catalina have a concept of child care as something that might benefit the children. Institutionalized childcare is not seen as high quality professional care with educational as well as emotional advantages. It is viewed, rather, as a vastly inferior form of baby-sitting, antipathetical to the whole ethic of mothering.

The ethic of mothering, then, lays the responsibility for child care squarely on the mother, and if she cannot do it herself, then she is obliged to find the closest possible substitute. The result is a constant and extreme problem for most women with small children who work, especially for women working shifts at the plant. Some are fortunate in having a mother close by who is able and willing to take over, others work a series of less than satisfactory compromises - usually involving the employment of a teenage woman at very low rates. Others simply give up and remain at home until their children are older, at which time they may find that they have lost their place in the labour market.

The converse of the problem is the position of the young women who work as baby sitters. We have not yet been able to assemble much material on exactly who these women are and what their conditions of work are. It is obvious, however, that they are untrained, very badly paid and given substantial amounts of responsibility. They are, in short,

exploited. Yet given that it is women's responsibility to arrange child care, and women get paid so little themselves, it is hard to see what else they could do to solve their immediate problems.

There is no form of mutual support organizations between mothers - no baby sitting co-ops for instance. Women who do not have relatives in the town have to solve their problems in the isolation of the nuclear family. Single parent families or the victims of domestic violence also have no means of mutual support.

There are few organized sports or crafts programs for children after school, and very few recreational facilities in the town. This lack also affects women as mothers, who have to make up for these deficiencies as best they can. Many women are involved in attempts to draw children into voluntary activities, such as the very active Navy League and Sea Cadets.

Domestic Violence and Domestic Stress

We were surprised by the consistency with which our professional informants, especially health care professionals, insisted on the extent of stress symptoms and domestic violence in the community. Nurse, doctor, Home Aids and Social workers all testified in different ways that, although hidden, stress was a grave problem. These health professionals asserted that stress takes different forms for men and women. They presented a scenario whereby men drink and sometimes they then become violent towards members of their families. Women become dependent on anti-stress drugs, especially sleeping pills. Health workers detect other symptoms. When we asked for the causes, they pointed to economic problems. They also pointed to the male solution of drinking as producing a further problem for the women.

It should be noted that while the local professionals presented this interpretation of the problems they encountered, there have been questions

raised in the literature about accepting this scenario too easily. Stress symptoms and domestic violence were not a central point in our enquiry and we did not pursue the matter in depth. We record, however, the health professionals concern for the issue and their view of it.

Shift work at the plant creates many domestic problems. Changing shifts is known to be stressful in itself, and in Catalina some families have two or more members undergoing this routine. An additional problem that was seen to be perhaps the most important creator of stress was the necessity for so many families to care for an elderly, and often invalid member. The bulk of this work, of course, also falls on women. Domestic violence is not usually acknowledged, although both the doctor and the nurse suggested that it, too, took place on a considerable scale. There is no transition house in the area, and no immediate help. A woman would have to go to the extreme step of applying to the overcrowded refuges in St. John's for help.

Care of the Elderly

In recent years the care of senior citizens has become a major problem in Catalina. There are few services available to help families with the growing problem. The Bonavista Hospital is now providing a reduced service - 10 of the 25 beds are closed, and old people who have nowhere else to go often occupy some of the remaining space. One health care professional was worried that conditions at Golden Heights Manor Home (also in Bonavista) were becoming unsafe because of the enormous increase in bedridden patients. They only have the same number of staff to deal with 40 bedridden patients as they did when there were only 8, with the rest being ambulatory. This same factor affects the feelings of pressure among the staff, who clearly have a more difficult work load.

Other services that are available are the Home Aid program run through the Department of Social Services, which provides domestic services to old people one day a week, and the Homemaker programme, which is run

through the Golden Heights Manor, which provides nursing care as well. Unfortunately, there are only two women employed on this programme, which clearly makes a real contribution to the needs of families looking after the elderly in their own homes.

In the end, the bulk of the care of the elderly falls to women. It is seen as inappropriate for a son to take personal care of his elderly mother, so the daughters take them in. But it is not seen as inappropriate for women to take care of elderly men, so we found several cases of women caring for their fathers, or their fathers-in-law. The care of elderly people, especially those who are bedridden constitutes a heavy burden even for the most loving woman. When it is combined with the care of her own young children and fulltime work (maybe as a shift worker), the situation quickly becomes intolerable.

There are two aspects to the problem. One is the concern of the health professionals who see a growing number of elderly who are abused, neglected or simply abandoned - a situation made worse because the lack of facilities means the health care professionals cannot replace the family. On the other hand, the burden on families (which is to say on women), are clearly intolerable. In the context of this study, it should also be remembered that nursing and other health related jobs provide a major source of employment for women. An extension of the services provided would, therefore, have a twofold effect: it would decrease the burden on women caring for elderly relatives and it would provide women with satisfying work in the area.

In this brief overview of three issues affecting women in Catalina, we hope we have signalled both the problems and the context in which they are set. In the conclusion we will try to set these in a wider context.

CONCLUSION

In the course of this study we have been impressed again by how unique each Newfoundland community is. Many features of Catalina mark it as different, and consequently women live their lives there in different ways. In many other ways it is similar, not only to other Newfoundland communities, but to everywhere else in the world. Women in Catalina live their lives in a very particular context, but they live them as women in a patriarchal society, and this imposes a kind of consistency on their lives that we recognize from a wealth of studies of women in other parts of the world.

There are two features in particular that help to structure our understanding of women's position in Catalina. One is that relatively few women have close female relatives living in the community with whom they could construct mutual support mechanisms. On the other hand, a number of women are having to care for elderly or sick relatives in their homes. Another feature is the absence of a tradition of subsistence activity in the recent past. In Catalina proper gardens were rare, and the inshore fishery of less importance. On the other hand, women collected berries for sale and consumption (and many still do so) and baking has continued its importance in Catalina households.

This is balanced by the greater number of wage jobs that have always been available for women in the community. This means that the enormous expansion of employment for women in the FPI plant in 1957 constituted less of a radical departure for Catalina women, and more of a continuation of a tradition. In any event, it is commonly accepted in Catalina that women need to work for pay. This is especially the case where men are unemployed, or seasonal fishermen. Many women who work at the plant are the principal or only earners in their household. On the other hand, there is an expectation that where a husband holds a good job the wife need not work, indeed that maybe she should not.

Domestic responsibilities are not shared. The total responsibility for

both the children and the housework is borne by women. Men are not expected to provide more than nominal assistance, even in cases where the wife is working at the plant and the husband is unemployed.

The role of the family and of the household in the lives of women is complex, and profoundly ambiguous. The family is important in structuring social relationships. While increasing numbers of people live in economic units that differ from the stereotypes, they still think of themselves as part of families. This means, for instance, that much mutual aid is structured through families - mothers babysit for daughters; daughters take in elderly relatives; information about jobs is passed to family members.

Given that much of the weight of providing family support falls on women, the consequences for them are unbalanced. It is also true that the lack of alternative patterns of mutual aid mean that women without relatives nearby find they are very short of necessary assistance. People are also socially defined by their families. Women have found to their cost that their husband's job may prevent them getting one. They have also found that family networks are an indispensible way of finding work.

We have seen households as the crucial concept in understanding how people structure their economic lives. It has enabled us to recognize the unpaid economic contribution that women make, but it has also drawn our attention to the ways in which women's own lives become subservient to ensuring that the economic unit of the household survives. Looking at women's work histories has shown us that the choices that women make with regard to the jobs they take are highly contingent on the overall demands of the household. This puts them at a further disadvantage in the labour market, which in turn reduces their power in the household.

Women's position is in many ways worse now that the cash nexus prevails. In the time when all members contributed economically to the household but none of them were paid, it was easier to see women's contribution for what it was - equally important to men's. Now it is different. On the one hand, unpaid economic contributions are less

recognized, and on the other, when women do take paid work it looks less valuable than men's because it is paid so much less.

Women do hold paid jobs in Catalina, but on the whole they are low paid, relatively unskilled jobs with no prospects. Their wages are always inferior to men's working in the same establishment, and they are usually directly supervised by men. The only exceptions to this are those women holding professional or semi-professional positions and the women who run their own businesses.

It seems, therefore, logical that women should leave the community if they want to find more rewarding work. Evidence from the Lench High School suggests that in fact young people of ability do leave the community to take post school courses. These young people will then take up positions where they are available in other parts of Newfoundland. This does not appear to be truer for boys than for girls, nor whether all youngsters of ability leave in this way. We do know that of the girls who do leave, the vast majority take courses leading to traditional careers in nursing, teaching and secretarial work.

Catalina is more prosperous than many other Newfoundland communities. There is comparatively low unemployment, and a smaller proportion of the population is on welfare. This does not appear, however, to have improved women's position, certainly not relative to men's. Indeed, a rigid and traditional sexual division of labour appears to impose a double burden on them. On the one hand, they take total responsibility for all domestic tasks, and on the other they hold down paid jobs that are hard and lowly paid. Certainly, our first impression is that Catalina women do far more than 50% of the work for very small rewards.

RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are both partial and tentative. They should be treated very much as topics for further discussion.

1. The establishment of high quality day care facilities is a priority, both to ease the burdens of working mothers and to provide educationally stimulating care for children. Such day care facilities should be creative and responsive to the particular needs of the community, for example the prevalence of shift work. One possibility might be family day care in which women can be licensed to care for a few children in a home setting. This would ensure safe and appropriate care for children and would be close to the model currently acceptable in the community.

2. We recognize that the use of young babysitters will continue, but we recommend that more is done to ensure that they are properly trained and receive at least the minimum domestic rate of pay. Many parents will continue to prefer informal methods such as these, and they should have the choice, but better protection for both the babysitters and the children in their care is needed.

3. We were impressed by the service being provided by Lench High School, but we were disturbed by the continuation of factors which prevent girls from fulfilling their potential. It is clear that too many girls still do not take their education and training seriously enough. To help Lench High School counteract these problems we recommend:

   a) that the imbalance of male to female staff be redressed by positive efforts to recruit female staff.

   b) the school is badly in need of a female counsellor.

   c) A deliberate campaign to broaden the horizons of young girls is needed. This should demonstrate both the importance of training for girls and the range of possibilities they could consider.

4. We find the continuing trickle of very young mothers appalling. Despite the ability of families to come to the aid of such girls, we see an acute need for further measures to be taken to enable girls to make fully informed choices about reproduction. The current courses on adolescent sexuality in high school should be reinforced with advice and information regarding reproductive matters, and reproductive counselling should be made available to all young people.

5. The lack of training facilities in the area is a major problem - both for young women who cannot leave the area and for older women wishing to get into the labour force, who still have domestic commitments. It is clearly urgent that women in rural areas have some means of continuing or re-entering educational programmes. We recommend that special attention be paid to women's needs when designing the outreach programmes of the new Bonavista Campus. Women need flexible course arrangements to enable them to combine learning with other commitments. They also need courses appropriate to their particular needs, in both method and content.

6. The training provided on the make work projects such as the knitting project seem irrelevant. We see such programmes being better adapted to setting up projects that could both fill a real community need and provide useful training. Two that we would see being worthy of consideration are a berry processing operation and a day care centre, with a strong training element in both.

7. There is an acute shortage of sports and recreational facilities in the community. One possibility is that the major employers in the area, especially FPI, might see the provision of such facilities as both a contribution to the community and a way of providing a necessary service for their workers.

8. FPI offers us an example of some of the consequences any large industrial process would have on a rural community. These recommendations do not, therefore reflect critically on FPI, but could

indicate questions government might want to ask before setting up large scale enterprises.

a) we were struck by the lack of personnel and counselling services at FPI. The social problems attached to production work, especially shift work are well known, and it would seem reasonable to counteract that with good social services at the plant.

b) daycare being the problem it is, a daycare centre, at least for the day shift, might well be practical.

c) women are particularly affected by the inflexible working arrangements at FPI. This includes the compulsory shift work arrangements, and the lack of part-time jobs. Part-time work is often seen as an employer strategy to reduce costs. However it does also have advantages for women trying to combine young children with paid work. For them, the choice of no work or full time work is too hard, and a part-time option would provide FPI with less stresses and more willing women workers.

9. While domestic violence was not a major focus of our enquiry, we note the concern of the health care professionals in the area. Further study on this difficult problem is needed urgently, followed by the institution of the appropriate support services, both for the families affected and for the professionals attempting to help them.

10. The care of the elderly is becoming an acute problem. More facilities are urgently needed, both residential care and, even more important, support services for women coping with seniors in their own homes. We recommend that programmes such as the Home Aid programme be extended to fill this community need.

NOTES

1. For example: M. Porter, "She was skipper of the shore-crew: notes on the history of the sexual division of labour in Newfoundland", in Labour/Le Travail, 15, 1985; M. Porter, "The tangly bunch: outport women of the avalon peninsula, in Newfoundland Studies, 1, 1985; M. Porter, "Women and old boats: the sexual division of labour in Newfoundland outports" in (eds) E.Garmarnikow et al. Public and Private: Gender and Society, (London, 1983); "Mothers and daughters: linking women's life histories in Grand Bank", paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology, New Delhi, 1986.

   For more theoretical discussions, see M. Porter, "Peripheral women: towards a feminist analysis of the Atlantic region" Studies in Political Economy, 23, 1987; M. Porter and S. Pottle "Patriarchal figures: getting to work on women and the economy in Newfoundland", paper presented at the 5th Social Sciences Conference, Havana, 1987.

2. N. Hersom and D. Smith, "Women and the Canadian Labour Force" (Ottawa 1982).

3. M. Kinnear and G. Mason, "Women and Work" Ottawa, 1983. [This workshop was directed towards specifying the data requirements to support research into women and the Canadian economy.]

4. P. and H. Armstrong, The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work revised edition, Toronto 1984; M. Luxton, "Two hands for the clock: changing patterns in the gendered division of labour" Studies in Political Economy (12) (1983); B. Fox, Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour under Capitalism, Toronto, 1980.

5. For example, see O. Brox, Newfoundland Fishermen in the Age of Industry St John's (1972); P. Thornton, "Newfoundland's frontier demographic experience: the world we have not lost", Newfoundland Studies, Vol. 2, no. 2, 1985.

6. See the report on "Women and the Newfoundland and Labrador economy" July, 1982

7. A useful collection has been published, (ed) B.Roberts et al New Approaches to Economic Life, Manchester,(1985). Particularly relevant papers include L. Murgatroyd and J. Urry "The class and gender restructuring of the Lancaster economy,1950-80"; C. Harris et al. "Redundancy in steel: labour market behaviour, local social networks and domestic organization"; C. Roberts "Research on women and the labour market, the women and employment survey"; V Beechey and T.Perkins, "Conceptualising women's part-time work"; S. Walby "Approaches to the study of gender relations in unemployment and employment"; A. Stewart et al. "Gender and earnings: the failure of market explanations; L. Morris "Renegotiation of the domestic division of labour in the context of male redundancy".

8. R. Pahl, Divisions of Labour (Oxford 1984)

9. See J. Gershuny "The informal economy", Futures (Feb 1979); N. Redclift and E Mingioneu Beyond Employment (Oxford 1984); J. Gershuny and R. Pahl, "Work outside employment" New Universities Quarterly (34)(1)(1979).

10. It should be noted that Pahl wholely rejects the strategy of trying to put a cash value on "subsistence" or household work as another attempt to force the activity into inappropriate categories.

11. My approach to some of these debates has been spelled out in detail in two recent papers, M. Porter, "The path of true love: more on the marxist-feminist hyphen" forthcoming in S. Peters Women and the Invisible Economy (Queens/Mcgill), M. Porter, "Peripheral women: towards a feminist analysis of the Atlantic region", op. cit.

12. Some recent contributions include S. Rose "Gender at work: sex, class and industrial capitalism, History Workshop 21(1986); J. Brenner and M. Ramas, "Rethinking women's oppression" New Left Review 146(1984); M. Barrett, "A reply to Brenner and Ramas", New Left Review 146,(1984).

13. E. Tilly, "Ye olden times in Catalina", The Newfoundland Quarterly, June, 1956 - Sept, 1957.

14. We heard persistent accounts that there was another fresh fish plant on the site where FPI established its plant, but we can find no evidence as to who owned it or how big it was or even confirmation that it existed.

15. Coaker's generator was opened by 1911, but it is not clear how big an area it served. Mrs. Martin, who was born in Port Union in 1924, cannot remember being without electricity.

16. These categories are drawn from Research Associates study.

R5	official Stats Can unemployment rate
PR1	proxy for unemployed more than 14 weeks
DO	proxy for discouraged workers
R-self	self described rate
EP	employment to population ratio
Part	participation rate

17. In information obtained from Mr. Powell, District Manager of the Dept. of Social Services in Bonavista, we learn that there are 7 Catalina residents on long term assistance, 10 on short term computer assistance and 6 on short term assistance, but we lack full information on the registered unemployed in Catalina.

18. Information about most of the women currently working at Catalina has been obtained from other sources, and is presented below.

Worker	age	marital status	#children	ages of children
1	33	s	0	
2	29	m	0	
3	53	w	0	
4	22	m	2	6,4
5	24	sep	1	2
6	26	m	2	11,8
7	30	m	1	12
8	26	m	2	12,9
9	45	m	3	18,16,14
10	28	s	1	6
11	22	s	0	
12	25	m	1	5
13	25	m	2	8,5
14	23	m	2	5,1
15	22	m	1	6
16	25	s	0	
17	27	m	2	12,10
18	24	s	1	6
19	23	m	0	
20	31	s	2	12,2
21	34	m	2	11,7
22	42	div	4	22,19,18,14
23	38	m	1	15
24	33	m	2	15,9
25	38	m	2	18,14
26	44	m	3	23,21,12
27	31	sep	3	14,7,5
28	52	m	5	34,32,30,26,14 29

con't...

Worker	age	marital status	#children	ages of children
29	26	div	1	5
30	38	m	3	16,11,10
31	34	m	1	16
32	32	m	2	10,3
33	24	s	0	
34	29	m	3	13,8,1
35	30	s	1	7
36	33	div	1	12
37	?	m	2	12,8
38	27	m	1	8
39	23	s	0	
40	23	s	0	
41	22	s	0	
42	31	m	2	7,4
43	30	m	2	8,5
44	28	m	1	6
45	32	m	1	12
46	46	div	3	22,17,16

19. see P. Bradbrook, "The telegraph and female telegraphists in Newfoundland", paper held in the Newfoundland Centre.

20. The remaining household is partially covered in the case study we used in the labour force survey.

21. see, for example M. Eichler, Families in Canada Today, Toronto, 1983; D. Morgan, The Family, Politics and Social Theory, London, 1985.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LABOUR FORCE SAMPLE
(final version)

1. How many <u>different</u> firms or employers have you worked for in the past 5 years, including different kinds of self employment?
ENTER NO._____

IF RESPONDENT HAS <u>NEVER</u> WORKED--GO TO Q.24.

2. Are you working at the present time?
YES
NO

IF 'YES'-GO TO #3
IF 'NO'--GO TO #11

3. a) Who is your employer?_____
Is your job located in
Catalina
Elsewhere in T.B.
Elsewhere in NF
Varies

b) When were you first hired?_____

c) How did you learn of the job? (ie.
(a)through friend/ relative
(b) Newspaper Ad
(c) CEIC
Other_____

d) How did you get the job? (ie.
(a) Wrote an application and was interviewed
(b) Approached employer & Applied verbally
Other_____

e) (i) What is your job title?_____

(ii) Description of activity: <u>PROBE</u>: What do you do most of the time? What equipment or machinery do you use?

_____
_____
_____

(iii) What skills, qualifications, training or experience do you need for the job?

_____
_____
_____

(iv) Do you supervise other peoples work? YES / No

IF 'YES' AT iv)

(v) How many people do you supervise? (WRITE IN)_____

(vi) What is the industry or business of the firm?
PROBE: What is made or done at the place where you work?

_____

_____

_____

(vii) How many people work there? (WRITE IN) _____

(viii) Are you an employee or are you self employed?
Employee
Self employed

4. a) Into which group does your pay fall. I mean what do you have left after tax, insurance & any other deductions?

_____

b) How many hours a week do you work?
WRITE IN TO NEAREST HOUR_____

IF HOURS VARY, PROBE: FOR NUMBER OF HOURS NECESSARY TO EARN AMOUNT MENTIONED AT a)

5. a) Is your work seasonal? YES / NO

IF 'YES' GO TO b)

b) How long do you expect this season to last:_____

c) Check--when did you begin work this last season?_____

d) Can you expect to get the same job next season? YES / NO

6. a) Are there opportunities for bonuses and/or overtime in your present job?

(i) Overtime--YES
--NO

IF 'YES GO TO (iii)

(ii) Bonuses
(SPECIFY) conditions/details

_____

_____

(iii) What is the rate of pay for overtime?

Same as regular
1 1/2 x regular
2 x regular

Other (SPECIFY)_____

7. a) Do you work overtime?

Regularly
Occasionally

b) When did you last work overtime?_____

c) Have you ever refused overtime hours?

YES___--Always
--Sometimes
NO

d) If 'YES' why?_____

_____

(eg. family responsibilities, transportation problems, exhaustion, etc.)

8. What other benefits are associated with your job?

Sick leave	YES	NO
Holidays	YES	NO
Pension Plan	YES	NO
UIC Benefits	YES	NO
Health Plan	YES	NO
Maternity Leave	YES	NO

OTHER_____

9. Are you a member of a union?

YES
NO

IF 'YES': Which union?_____

10. Are there men employed in your position? YES / NO

IF 'NO'
Have there ever been men employed in your position? YES / NO

IF 'NO'
Could they be? YES / NO

GO TO QUESTION 26

IF PRESENTLY UNEMPLOYED:

11. I'd like to know about your last paid job._____

12. Where was the job?
Catalina
Elsewhere in T.B.
Elsewhere in NF
Varied
Never had a paid job

13. Who was it with? (Name of Firm/Employer)_____
_____

14. When was that? (Dates: Start to finish)_____
to_____. (No. of years____months____weeks___)

15. Why did you leave your last job?_____
_____
(laid off, tech. change, family responsibilities, etc.)

16. How did you learn of that job?
Through friend/relative
Newspaper ad
CEIC
Other (SPECIFY)_____

17. How did you get that job? a) Wrote application/interviewed
b) approached employer/applied verbally
Other (SPECIFY)_____

18. (i) What was your job title?_____

(ii) Description of Activity: PROBE: What did you do most of the time? What equipment or machinery did you use?

_____

_____

_____

(iii) What skill, qualification, training or experience did you need for the job?_____

_____

_____

_____

(iv) Did you supervise other people's work? YES / NO

IF 'YES' AT (iv)

(v) How many people did you supervise? (WRITE IN)_____

(vi) What was the industry or business of the firm?
PROBE: What was made or done at the place where you worked?

_____

_____

_____

(vii) How many people worked there at the time? (WRITE IN)___

(viii) Were you an employee or were you self employed?

Employee
Self employed

19. a) Into which group did your pay fall. I mean what did you have left after tax, insurance and any other deductions?

_____

b) How many hours a week did you work?
Write in to nearest hour_____

IF HOURS VARIED, PROBE: FOR NO. OF HOURS NECESSARY TO EARN AMOUNT MENTIONED AT a)

20. Was your work seasonal? YES / NO

IF 'YES' GO TO (i)

(i) How long did the season last? (INCLUDE DATES)_____

_____

(ii) Can you expect to get this job again in the future?_____

_____

21. Were there any opportunities for bonuses and/or overtime in your last job?

(i) Overtime--YES
--NO

IF 'YES' GO TO (iii)

(ii) Bonuses--YES
--NO

IF 'YES': (SPECIFY) conditions/details_____

_____

_____

(iii) What was the rate of pay for overtime?

Same as regular
1 1/2 x regular
2 x regular
Other (SPECIFY)_____

(iv) Did you work overtime?

Regularly
Occasionally

(v) Did you ever refuse overtime hours.

YES
NO

IF 'YES': a) Did you refuse?

Always
Sometimes

b) Why did you refuse?

Family responsibilities
Transportation problems
Exhaustion
Other_____

22. What other benefits were associated with your job?

Sick leave	YES	NO
Holidays	YES	NO
Pension Plan	YES	NO
UIC benefits	YES	NO
Health Plan	YES	NO
Maternity leave	YES	NO

Other_____

23. Were you a member of a union? YES / NO

IF 'YES': Which union?_____

Were any men employed in your position? YES / NO

IF 'NO': Have there ever been men employed in your positions? YES / NO

IF 'NO': Could they be. YES / NO

24. Are you registered as unemployed? YES / NO

25. Are you looking for a job at the moment? YES (go to (i) / NO (go to (v)

IF 'YES'

(i) Would you prefer to work full time, that is 30 or more hours a week, or would you prefer to work part time?
Full time / Part time

(ii) And would you prefer to work in Catalina or would it make any difference?
Prefer Catalina / Makes no difference

(iii) What kind of work would you most like to do?
(WRITE IN JOB TITLE)_____

(iv) How likely is it that you will find a job the next month or so. It is...READ OUT...
...very likely / ...fairly likely / ...not likely / (DK/Depends)

IF 'NO'

(v) Although you are not looking for a job at the moment, would you like to have a paid job? YES / NO

IF 'YES'

(vi) Why aren't you looking for a job: PROBE FULLY: RECORD VERBATIM

_____

_____

_____

IF 'CHILDREN' OR FAMILY NOT MENTIONED AT (vi)

(vii) Would you say that children or family responsibilities make it difficult for you to look for a job at the moment?

YES
NO

IF 'TRANSPORT' NOT MENTIONED AT (vi)

(viii) Would you have any difficulty getting to and from a job if you found one in Catalina or in a neighboring town?

YES
NO

Depends (SPECIFY) _____

IF RESPONDENT NEVER WORKED - SKIP TO - INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE Q.34

26. Now I'd like you to give me as detailed a work history as you can starting with your most recent job and going back to your first job.

(i) Location of Employment

Catalina
Elsewhere in T.B.
Elsewhere in NF
Varied

(ii) On what dates did you start and finish this job?
Start_____Finish_____
(years_____months_____weeks_____)

(iii) What was your job title?_____

(iv) Description of Activity: PROBE: What did you do most of the time? What equipment or machinery did you use?

_____
_____
_____

(v) What skill, qualifications, training or experience did you need for the job?_____
_____
_____

(vi) Did you supervise other people's work? YES (go to vii)
NO

IF 'YES' AT (vi)

(vii) How many people did you supervise? (WRITE IN)_____

(viii) What was the industry or business of the firm?
PROBE: What was made or done at the place where you worked?

_____

_____

_____

(ix) How many people worked there? (WRITE IN)_____

(x) Were you an employee or were you self employed?

Employee
Self employed

27. Into which group does your pay fall. I mean what do you have left after tax, insurance & any other deductions?_____

28. How many hours a week do you work?
WRITE IN TO NEAREST HOUR_____

IF HOURS VARIED, PROBE: FOR NUMBER OF HOURS NECESSARY TO EARN AMOUNT MENTIONED AT 28.

29. a) Was your work seasonal? YES / NO

IF 'YES' GO TO Q.29.b)
b) When did the season begin_____end_____
(NO. MONTHS____

30. Were there opportunities for bonuses and/or overtime in that job? (i) Overtime--YES / --NO

IF 'YES':
(ii) What was the rate of pay for overtime?

Same as regular
1 1/2 x regular
2 x regular
Other (SPECIFY)_____

(iii) Did you work overtime? YES / NO

IF 'YES':
(iv) Did you work overtime- Regularly / Occasionally

(v) Did you ever refuse to work overtime in that job? YES NO

IF 'YES':
(vi) Did you refuse- Always Sometimes

IF 'YES':
(vii) Why?_____

(eg. Family responsibilities, transportation, other)

31. What other benefits are associated with your job?

Sick leave	YES	NO
Holidays	YES	NO
Pension Plan	YES	NO
UIC Benefits	YES	NO
Health Plan	YES	NO
Maternity Leave	YES	NO

OTHER_____

32. a) Were you a member of a union? YES NO

IF 'YES':
b) Which union?_____

33. Were there men employed in your position? YES NO

IF 'NO'
Have there ever been men employed in your position? YES NO

IF 'NO'
Could they be? YES NO

REPEAT QUESTIONS 26 - 30 UNTIL FULL EMPLOYMENT HISTORY OBTAINED

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR (HUSBAND'S/WIFE'S/PARTNER'S) EMPLOYMENT:

34. How many different firms or employers has your (husband/wife/partner) worked for in the past 5 years including different kinds of self employment. ENTER NO.____

35. Is your (husband/wife/partner) working at the present time?
YES (Go to following Q.)
NO (Go to Q.52.)

IF 'YES'

36. a) Who is his/her present employer?_____

b) Is his/her employment located in

Catalina
Elsewhere in T.B.
Elsewhere in NF
Varies

37. When was he/she first hired?_____

38. What is his/her job title?_____

39. Description of Activity: PROBE: What does s/he do most of the time? What equipment or machinery does s/he use?

_____

_____

_____

40. Does s/he supervise other people's work?

YES
NO

IF 'YES'

a) How many people does s/he supervise? (WRITE IN)_____

41. What is the industry or business of the firm? PROBE: What is made or done at the place where s/he works?

_____

_____

_____

42. How many people work there?_____

43. Is s/he an employee or self employed?

Employee
Self employed

44. Into which group does his/her pay fall. I mean what does s/he have left after tax, insurance and any other deductions?_____

45. How many hours a week does s/he work?
WRITE IN TO THE NEAREST HOUR____

IF HOURS VARY, PROBE: FOR NO. OF HOURS NECESSARY TO EARN AMOUNT MENTIONED AT Q.44.

46. a) Is his/her work seasonal? YES (Go to following Q.)
NO

b) How long does the season last?_____

c) When did s/he begin work this last season?_____

d) Can s/he expect to get the same job next season? YES
NO

47. Are there opportunities for bonuses and/or overtime in his her present job?

a) Overti--YES
--NO

IF 'YES':
b) What is the rate of pay for overtime?

Same as regular
1 1/2 x regular
2 x regular
Other (SPECIFY)

c) Bonuses YES
NO

IF 'YES':
d) (SPECIFY) conditions/details_____
_____
_____

48. Does s/he work overtime? Regularly
Occasionall

a) When did s/he last work overtime?_____

b) Has s/he ever refused overtime? YES
NO

c) IF 'YES': (i) Always refuses
Sometimes refuses

(ii) Why?_____
_____
_____

49. What other benefits are associated with his/her job?

Sick leave	YES	NO
Holidays	YES	NO
Pension Plan	YES	NO
UIC Benefits	YES	NO
Health Plan	YES	NO
Maternity Leave	YES	NO

OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

50. a) Is s/he a union member? YES NO

b) IF 'YES': What union?_____

IF PARTNER IS MALE (IF FEMALE--MAKE APPROPRIATE CHANGES)

51. a) Are there any women employed in his position? YES NO

IF 'NO':
b) Have there ever been women employed in his position? YES NO

IF 'NO':
c) Could women be employed in his position? YES NO

PARTNER - UNEMPLOYED AT PRESENT

52. I'd like to know about your (husband's/wife's/partner's) last paid job.

a) Where was his/her job located?
Catalina
Elsewhere in T.B.
Elsewhere in NF
Varied
Never had a paid job

b) Who was it with (Name of firm/employer)_____

c) When was that (Dates start to finish) _____
to_____. (No. Yrs._____Mths._____ Wks._____)

d) Why did s/he leave his/her last job?_____

e) What was his/her job title?_____

Description of Activity: What did s/he do most of the time? What equipment or machinery did s/he use?

_____

_____

_____

f) What skill, qualification, training or experience did s/he need for the job?_____

_____

_____

53. a) Did s/he supervise other people's work? YES / NO

IF 'YES' AT (a)

b) How many people did s/he supervise? (WRITE IN) _____

c) What was the industry or business of the firm. PROBE: What was made or done at the place where s/he worked?

_____

_____

_____

d) How many people worked there at the time? (WRITE IN)_____

54. Was s/he an employee or self employed? Employee / Self employed

55. Into which group did his/her pay fall. I mean what did s/he have left after tax, insurance and any other deductions?

_____

56. How many hours a week did s/he work?

WRITE IN TO THE NEAREST HOUR____

IF HOURS VARIED, PROBE: FOR NO. OF HOURS NECESSARY TO EARN AMOUNT MENTIONED AT Q.55

57. a) Was his/her work seasonal? YES (Go to following Q.) / NO

b) How long does the season last?_____

d) Can s/he expect to get the same job in the future? YES / NO

58. Were there opportunities for bonuses and/or overtime in his/her last job?

a) Overtime--YES
--NO

IF 'YES':
b) What is the rate of pay for overtime?

Same as regular
1 1/2 x regular
2 x regular
Other (SPECIFY)

c) Did s/he work overtime?

Regularly
Occasionally

d) Did s/he ever refuse overtime?

YES
NO

IF 'YES':
c) Did s/he refuse-

(i) Always refuses
Sometimes refuses

(ii) Why?_____

_____

_____

59. What other benefits were associated with his/her job?

Sick leave	YES	NO
Holidays	YES	NO
Pension Plan	YES	NO
UIC Benefits	YES	NO
Health Plan	YES	NO
Maternity Leave	YES	NO

OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

60. a) Was s/he a union member?

YES
NO

IF 'YES':
b) Which union?_____

IF PARTNER IS MALE (IF FEMALE--MAKE APPROPRIATE CHANGES)

61. a) Were any women employed in his position? YES / NO

IF 'NO':
b) Have there ever been women employed in his position? YES / NO

IF 'NO':
c) Could women be employed in his position? YES / NO

62. Is your husband/wife/partner registered as unemployed? YES / NO

63. a) Is s/he looking for a job at the moment YES (Go to b) / NO (Go to f)

IF 'YES'
b) Would s/he prefer to work full time, that is 30 or more hours a week, or would s/he prefer to work part time?
Full time
Part time

c) And would s/he prefer to work in Catalina, or would it make any difference?
Prefer Catalina
Wouldn't make any difference

d) What kind of work would s/he most like to do?
WRITE IN JOB TITLE:_____

e) How likely is it that s/he will find a job in the next month or so. It is...READ OUT...
...Very likely
Fairly likely
Not likely
DK/Depends

IF 'NO'
f) Although s/he is not looking for a job at the moment would s/he like to have a paid job? YES / NO

IF 'YES'
g) Why isn't s/he looking for a job: PROBE FULLY. RECORD VERBATIM

_____
_____
_____

IF 'CHILDREN' OR FAMILY NOT MENTIONED AT g)

h) Would you say that children or family responsibilities make it difficult for him/her to look for a job at the moment?

YES
NO

IF 'TRANSPORT' NOT MENTIONED AT g)

i) Would s/he have any difficulty getting to an from a job if she found one in Catalina or in a neighboring town?

YES
NO
Depends (SPECIFY)

64. If partner never worked - skip to - instructions.
Now I'd like you to give me as detailed a work history as you can starting with his/her most recent job and going back to his/her first job.

(i) Location of Employment

Catalina
Elsewhere in T.B.
Elsewhere in NF
Varied

(ii) On what dates did s/he start and finish this job?
Start_____Finish_____
(years_____months_____weeks_____)

(iii) What was his/her job title?_____

(iv) Description of Activity: PROBE: What did s/he do most of the time? What equipment or machinery did you use?

_____
_____
_____

(v) What skill, qualifications, training or experience did s/he need for the job?_____
_____
_____

(vi) Did s/he supervise other people's work? YES (go to vii)
NO

IF 'YES' AT (vi)

(vii) How many people did she supervise? (WRITE IN)_____

(viii) What was the industry or business of the firm?
PROBE: What was made or done at the place where s/he worked?

_____

_____

_____

(ix) How many people worked there? (WRITE IN)_____

(x) Was s/he an employee or was s/he self employed?

Employee
Self employed

65. Into which group did his/her pay fall. I mean what did s/he have left after tax, insurance & any other deductions?

_____

66. How many hours a week did s/he work?
WRITE IN TO NEAREST HOUR_____

IF HOURS VARIED, PROBE: FOR NUMBER OF HOURS NECESSARY TO EARN AMOUNT MENTIONED AT 65.

67. a) Was his/her work seasonal? YES / NO

IF 'YES' GO TO b)

b) When did the season begin_____end_____
(NO. MONTHS____)

68. Were there opportunities for bonuses and/or overtime in that job? (i) Overtime--YES / NO

IF 'YES':

(ii) What was the rate of pay for overtime?

Same as regular
1 1/2 x regular
2 x regular
Other (SPECIFY)_____

(iii) Did s/he work overtime? YES / NO

IF 'YES':

(iv) Did s/he work overtime- Regularly / Occasionally

(v) Did s/he ever refuse to work overtime in that job? YES / NO

IF 'YES':

(vi) Did s/he refuse- Always / Sometimes

IF 'YES':
(vii) Why?_____

_____
(eg. Family responsibilities, transportation, other)

69. What other benefits are associated with your job?

Sick leave	YES	NO
Holidays	YES	NO
Pension Plan	YES	NO
UIC Benefits	YES	NO
Health Plan	YES	NO
Maternity Leave	YES	NO

OTHER_____

70. a) Was s/he a member of a union? YES NO

IF 'YES':
b) What union?_____

IF PARTNER IS MALE

71. Were there women employed in his position? YES NO

IF 'NO'
Have there ever been women employed in his position? YES NO

IF 'NO'
Could they be? YES NO

REPEAT QUESTIONS 64 - 70 UNTIL FULL EMPLOYMENT HISTORY
NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR HOUSEHOLD

72. What is your age?_____

73. What is your marital status?
Single
Married or living as married
Divorced/Separated
Widowed-(If widowed, how long)_____

74. How many children have you had? _____
(Not counting any who were born dead)

75. Have you adopted children? YES NO

IF 'YES':
How many?_____

76. What are your children's first names, starting with the eldest and going to the youngest.

(i) Name_____

(ii) Age_____

(iii) Marital status:
Single
Married or living as married
Divorced/Separated
Widowed

(iv) No. of children s/he has had?_____
(v) Is_____ and/or any of his/her children presently living in your household?
YES
NO

(vi) IF 'YES': Only (NAME)_____

(vii) IF 'NO': (Names) partner and/or children living in household #_____.

(viii) Is s/he presently employed?
Employed
Unemployed

IF EMPLOYED
(ix) Occupation_____

(x) How long has s/he been employed in this job?_____

(xi) What are his/her average weekly earnings?_____

(xii) Is this a full time or a part time job?
Full time
Part time

IF PART TIME:
(xiii) No. of hours a week_____

(xiv) Is s/he looking for a job?
YES
NO

IF 'NO':
(xv) Why not?_____

(xvi) How long has s/he been unemployed?_____

(xvii) Is s/he receiving UI benefits?
YES
NO

IF 'YES':
(xviii) How much a week?_____
(xix) Does (Name of Child) have any other sources of income?
YES
NO

IF 'YES':
(xx) What are they and how much?_____
_____

(xxi) Does (Name) contribute to the household financially?
YES
NO

IF 'YES':
(xxii) How much?_____

(xxiii) What is the total income for your household?_____

REPEAT FOR ALL CHILDREN

77. Do you own or rent your home here? Own (loan or mortgage)
Rent privately -furnished
Rent privately - unfurnished
Living with parents
Living with other relative
Other (SPECIFY)_____

IF 'OWN'
(i) Is the house in your name, in your husband's/wife's name or is it a joint loan or mortgage. Respondents
Husband/wife/partner
Joint
In someone elses name
Owned outright

(ii) What is the monthly mortgage payment?_____

IF RENT:
(iii) Is the lease in your name, in your husband's/wife's/ partner's name or is it a joint lease Respondents
Husband/wife/partner
Joint
In someone else's name

(iv) What is the monthly rent?_____

I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT NON-MONEY 'INCOME' YOUR HOUSEHOLD MIGHT HAVE.

78. Does someone in your household cut wood? YES
NO

IF YES:
Who usually does it?_____

79. Does anyone in your household grow vegetables for family consumption? YES / NO

IF 'YES':
Is that most years or just occasionally? YES (Most yrs.) / YES (Occasionally)

Who usually does this?_____
_____
_____
(IF TASKS SUCH AS DIGGING, FENCING, WEEDING ARE DIVIDED INDICATE)

80. Does anyone in your household make clothing? YES / NO

IF 'YES':
Is this done regularly or occasionally? Regularly / Occasionally

Who usually does it?_____

81. Do you or anyone in your household contribute money to other households (eg. parents)? YES / NO

IF 'YES':
Is this regularly or occasionally. Regularly / Occasionally

How Much?_____

To whom is it contributed, and why?_____
_____
_____

82. Does anyone who does not live in your household contribute money to your household? YES / NO

IF 'YES':
Is this regularly or occasionally? Regularly / Occasionally

Who contributes this money?_____
How much does s/he contribute?_____

83. Do you or anyone in your household contribute services to any other household?

YES
NO

IF 'YES'
What are they? LIST BELOW AND RECORD WHO DOES THEM
(eg. Shopping for elderly or disabled relative or friend, chopping wood, babysitting, cooking, etc.)

I'D LIKE TO FINISH WITH A FEW GENERAL QUESTIONS:

84. How important is it for you to have a job? RECORD VERBATIM

85. Do you think women, in general, should work outside the home?

86. Why do you think so many women stay at home?